# STUDIES

## An Irish Quarterly Review

AUTUMN 1954

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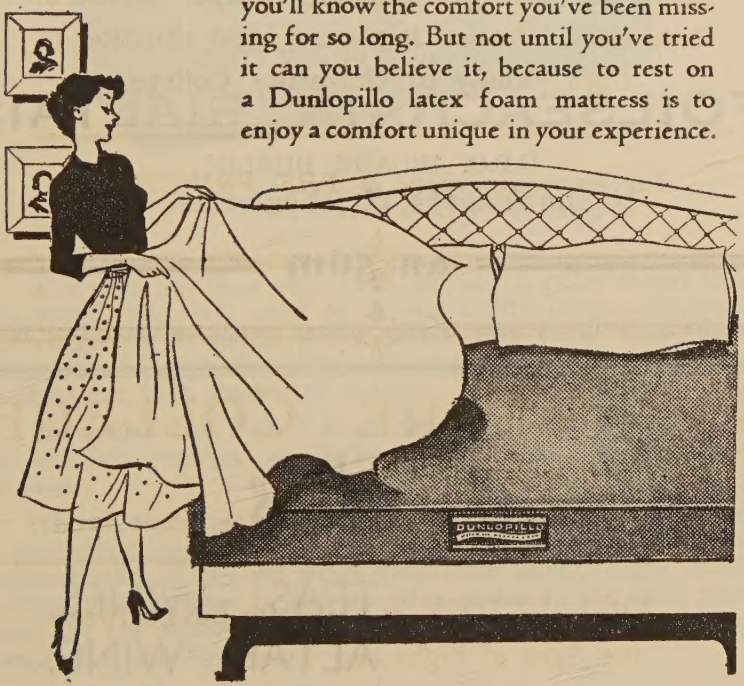


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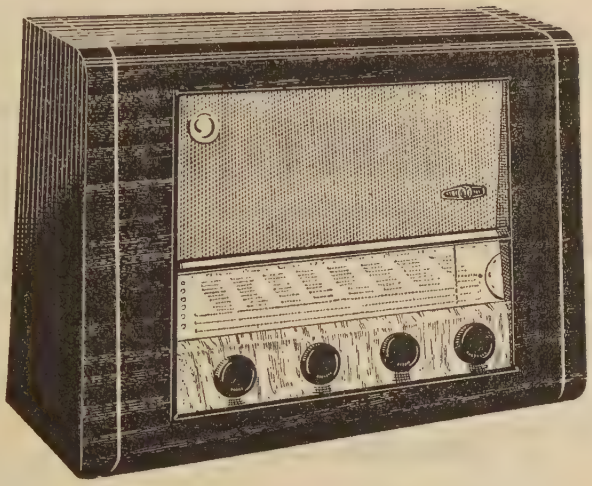

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# Some Reminiscences of the International Labour Organisation

*by* EDWARD PHELAN

WHEN I wrote a brief account of the I.L.O. for *Studies* in 1925 the I.L.O. was little more than five years old. It had made a remarkably successful start and it had a surprising number of substantial achievements to its credit. But many believed that fortuitous circumstances had favoured its precocious development and that once its initial momentum had exhausted itself its pace would be moderated to the sober gait of a government department pursuing unobtrusively its appointed technical task. They attributed the intensity and variety of its activities, and the success that attended them even in the most unexpected fields, to the extraordinary driving force of the first Director, Albert Thomas. Delegates who felt the impact of his personality, who were carried along by his energy and eloquence, who were dazzled, or dismayed, by his endless initiative, not unnaturally came to the conclusion that without his brilliant leadership the I.L.O. would have been, and would inevitably become, a much more modest institution. Instead of leading the I.L.O. along sheltered paths appropriate to its youth and inexperience Albert Thomas seemed to take a delight in conducting it to the assault of dizzy precipices and in seeking out the most dangerous adversaries for it to confront. In the name of the I.L.O. he even challenged the Supreme Council—in the days when that august body was all that its name implied ; and with equal boldness he defied the Council of the League and established the headquarters of the I.L.O. in Geneva, compelling the League to follow suit though he well knew that plans were far advanced for abandoning Geneva in favour of Brussels.[1] His spectacular successes on these and similar occasions naturally attracted the spotlight of publicity and left in the shadow the purposes that in fact they were designed to subserve. Though the objects pursued were in themselves justifiable and important, these dramatic interventions

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EDITOR'S NOTE : Mr Phelan was associated with the International Labour Organisation from the earliest stages of its planning at the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, and continued in the service of the I.L.O. until he retired in 1948. At the time of the events he recounts he was Assistant Director under Mr Butler (later Sir Harold Butler, K.C.M.G.) and Deputy Director under Mr Winant. When Mr Winant resigned at the beginning of 1941 to become American Ambassador in London, Mr Phelan succeeded him as Director and subsequently became Director General under the I.L.O.'s revised constitution.

[1] For an account of these and other incidents see *Yes and Albert Thomas* by E. J. Phelan, Cresset Press, London.

were merely incidental to his wider objectives of teaching the I.L.O. that it had constitutional responsibilities that it must not evade and of demonstrating to governments that a new international organisation existed whose rights and competence could not with impunity be by-passed or ignored.

## The I.L.O.'s Heritage

Those who expected that the I.L.O. would decline in vigour when death removed Albert Thomas from his post found that they had been blind to his real achievement. He left to the Organisation an inspiration and a vision so compelling that it might almost be said to have inherited the personality of its late Director. Certainly he bequeathed to it a cohesion and an identity, a spirit and a character such as no other public international institution had possessed before or has since managed to acquire. It is not easy to convey in any brief fashion the real nature of Albert Thomas' contribution to the I.L.O.'s development without leaving the impression that it consisted wholly in imbuing the institution with a strong sense of the unique importance of its mission. That belief was indeed the mainspring of his activity and he was untiring in his effort to arouse and to spread the conviction that in the pursuit of social justice lay the only road to an enduring peace; but he believed with equal intensity that in the I.L.O. the world possessed for the first time an effective instrument through which the cause of social justice might be steadily advanced. The real importance of his achievement, and what gave it a lasting character, was that he perfected the instrument given into his charge and with the instinct of genius revealed its unsuspected potentialities. What he accomplished will be better understood if we remember that a political, unlike a physical, machine cannot be subjected to tests and alterations before it is put into operation, and only on rare occasions is it ever possible to make such subsequent modifications in its structure as experience may suggest. Its success, therefore, depends not on constant improvement in design but on the discovery and development of skills in its use. If its first design is good so much the better, but, good or bad, what determines its fate is the vision and intelligence with which it is made to perform its task. It is from this point of view that Albert Thomas' contribution to the I.L.O. overshadows even that of its creators. Great as their achievement was it was limited to the plan for a new kind of international organisation. The I.L.O. was like a windmill, novel in its structure and embodying many innovations in its mechanism, but like all windmills it was wholly dependent for its successful operation on two things external to it—a breeze to turn the sails and customers to bring it business. Despite all the ingenuity

of its designers it might have experienced only short spells of activity alternating with long periods of stagnation had it not been that Albert Thomas, who was chosen as the Master Miller, combined an extraordinary talent of salesmanship with an inventive aerodynamical genius, the one producing a steadily increasing flow of grist, and the other so skilfully taking advantage of aerial currents that the wheels ground on without interruption and were ever equal to the task demanded of them. What he left to his successor was no longer an experiment but an established and renowned concern solidly based on a firm foundation of goodwill and equipped with newly discovered techniques for its successful operation.

In normal circumstances so strong a position would have been a sufficient guarantee of the I.L.O.'s future. But when Harold Butler became Director in 1932 the world economic crisis had swept through country after country with devastating effects and conditions had become steadily less favourable for international activity. He would have done well had he succeeded in maintaining the Organisation at the level to which Albert Thomas had raised it and few would have thought it possible that he should do more.

The two men were very different. Albert Thomas was by instinct a politician and his career had lain in the political field; he enjoyed political battles as much as he welcomed political responsibility. It was on the political stage that he found the greatest scope for his gifts of magnetism and eloquence ; and they were there so dazzlingly displayed that, as we have seen, his deeper purposes and his other abilities went largely unperceived. Harold Butler had inherited the tastes and instincts of a scholar and was by profession a civil servant ; and he had many of the characteristics with which these two careers are commonly associated. In the human contacts that Albert Thomas could so easily translate into intimacy Butler found it difficult to conquer a certain shyness and reserve that sometimes gave an impression of diffidence. Feeling strongly the responsibilities he had shouldered he was cautious to the point of being often so non-committal as to lead people to think that he was being deliberately evasive. But in his case also these externals were deceptive ; they masked a high intelligence, great powers of concentration and assimilation and the ability to reach by a process of study and synthesis conclusions on general policy. He lacked the politician's gift of being able to choose instinctively in the changing fortunes of debate the tactical position best adapted to secure progress to his objective ; but his vision of the general political scene was acute and no one was quicker at seeing the dangers or the opportunities it might present. In addition to these qualities he possessed an unsurpassed knowledge of the I.L.O.'s history, a complete familiarity with its activities

and techniques, and that special personal interest in its fortunes that naturally belonged to one who had had an important part in its creation and who had launched it on its career at Washington in 1919. He was now as Director to render further great services to the Organisation and in particular to bring to fulfilment a hope which had once seemed reasonable but which for a long time had steadily receded as any prospect of its realization grew more and more remote.

## Economic and Political Events in the U.S.A.

The world economic crisis which had progressively disrupted the world's economic and financial system struck the United States with the force of a tornado. The whole financial system of the country collapsed in chaos ; the banks closed their doors ; factories unable to sell their products were unable to pay their workers and were forced to suspend operations ; bankruptcy and unemployment spread like a plague. In the distress and destitution that resulted a violent political reaction was inevitable. The Republican party, which had held almost unchallenged power since President Wilson had been defeated on the issue of the League of Nations, was disavowed by an immense swing of public opinion, and Franklin Roosevelt entered the White House as President in March 1933. Butler was quick to see the possibilities of this new situation. Roosevelt had been Assistant Secretary of the Navy when the I.L.O. held its first Conference in Washington in 1919 and had personally arranged for the provision of office space for the Conference staff in the Temporary Navy Building. He had thus been associated with the I.L.O.'s earliest activities and was acquainted with its structure and purposes. Moreover he had appointed as Secretary of Labor Miss Frances Perkins who was personally known to Butler and who had long shown a keen interest in the I.L.O.'s work.

It will be remembered that the Commission of the Peace Conference which had drawn up the Constitution of the International Labour Organisation had been presided over by Samuel Gompers, the President of the American Federation of Labour, and it had been a blow to the Organisation when United States membership became impossible because of the storm over the League of Nations. Efforts had nevertheless been undertaken to secure some form of collaboration between the United States and the I.L.O. and Albert Thomas had even succeeded in 1923 in securing agreement for the regular attendance of Workers' and Employers' delegates. This agreement had been accepted by the American Federation of Labour and the United States Chamber of Commerce and had been welcomed by Mr Herbert Hoover who was then President Harding's Secretary of Commerce, but the rising tide of

isolationist sentiment prevented its implementation. The I.L.O. had, however, maintained a Branch Office in Washington and statistical and other information from the United States was made available. There had never been the same hostility to the I.L.O. as to the League and now that a Democratic administration had come into power it seemed that the problem of United States collaboration with the I.L.O. should be explored afresh.

## A Geographical Solution to a Political Problem

Although there were now new and much more favourable factors in the situation, Butler was well aware that isolationist feeling was still strong and that therefore he must proceed with great caution. He wrote to Miss Perkins in an endeavour to discover what the possibilities might be of establishing some form of closer collaboration with the United States. Her reply was warmly sympathetic but not definite enough to give him any clear guidance. This was indeed understandable. As Secretary of Labour she was in process of shouldering immense new responsibilities and was a central figure in the formulation of many of the new and daring measures for dealing with the national crisis. It was not to be expected therefore that she could do more than indicate her general interest and desire to be helpful. In these circumstances Butler felt he must somehow get a clearer picture of what was happening in the United States before he could make any definite suggestions about the I.L.O. It was not easy from Europe to follow in any detail all the daring initiatives that were being taken in the social and economic fields and still less to attempt to form any judgment of their impact on American opinion. A personal visit would of course have enabled him to secure the answer to his problem but to this there were obvious and serious objections. A visit by the Director of the I.L.O. to Washington at that time would inevitably attract attention ; it would be given publicity and there was clearly a danger that it would give rise to speculation in the press that might do incalculable harm. Even if some less important official were to go over it would be desirable that his presence should be susceptible of a wholly sound and harmless explanation. Butler hit upon an ingenious way in which this could be accomplished.

There was a genuine, and indeed an urgent, need for someone to visit Canada. Conditions in Canada, though they attracted less notice, were in many ways not less severe than those in the United States. The normal economic life of the country was disorganised and unemployment and its accompanying distress was rife. As one Canadian author put it, nearly a million Canadians waited in dismal queues to obtain a minimum of relief " just sufficient to keep together a hungry body and

a despairing soul". The remedy of the Bennett Government was a policy of tariffs designed to prevent the importation into Canada of any goods that she could manufacture herself and the plan, pursued at the Ottawa Conference, to make the British Commonwealth a self-sufficing economic unit.

The social elements in the crisis were ignored.[1] The Department of Labour became an insignificant piece of administrative machinery pursuing in obscurity routine matters with to all intents and purposes no ministerial head. Since this Department was the channel of communication between the I.L.O. and the Canadian Government, this meant that the Cabinet was not kept regularly informed of I.L.O. activities and in consequence had little knowledge of their nature and, no doubt, even less sense of their importance. In these circumstances it was not surprising that suggestions were mooted to make economies by moving for a reduction in the I.L.O.'s budget and by sending only an incomplete delegation, or possibly no delegation at all, to the next I.L.O. Conference. These ideas did not derive from any hostility to the I.L.O. and there was therefore reason to hope that personal discussion with the authorities in Ottawa would at all events succeed in placing the question of collaboration with the I.L.O. in a different perspective. At a time when all countries were struggling with economic and financial difficulties, the dangers exemplified by the Canadian situation might well arise elsewhere and this pointed to the desirability of multiplying the I.L.O.'s direct contacts with its Member States. It happened that Mexico was a country to which no I.L.O. mission had ever gone and to which a visit by an I.L.O. representative was long overdue. Butler decided to combine these two missions and asked me to undertake them, pointing out as he did so that, as I should be under the geographical necessity of passing through the United States in order to get from Canada to Mexico, I might naturally take advantage of the opportunity to make contact with some of our American friends.

## The Attitude of the Roosevelt Administration to International Institutions

After leaving Canada I accordingly broke my journey in New York in order to get some first impressions of the American scene. It proved a fortunate starting point. Roosevelt had gone to the Presidency from the Governorship of the State of New York, and New York City was the centre from which he had drawn some of his friends to become his closest advisers. In those early days of his administration New York was

[1] At a later stage the Bennett Government modified this attitude and introduced a wide "new deal" programme.

indeed almost a political suburb of Washington to and from which many of the brilliant individuals who came to be known as " the Brains Trust " regularly commuted. I had friends in New York whose acquaintance I had made during my contacts with the American delegation at the Peace Conference, and I had expected to be able to talk with them in a leisurely and tentative fashion. I was astonished at the rapidity and energy of their behaviour, but I found that this was characteristic of the initiative and activity that Roosevelt's assumption of office seemed to have released in progressive intellectual circles. As soon as I had told them of my preoccupations, I was rushed round the city to meet a number of people whose names meant as little to me as mine to them ; their offices were entered without ceremony or excuse ; telegrams were sent, letters dictated and signed, and in a few hours I was on my way to Washington, more than a little breathless but equipped with introductions to and appointments with half a dozen of the personalities who were helping to formulate the new policies. In Washington I was also fortunate in finding another old friend, Micheal MacWhite, the Irish Minister. No one else in the Diplomatic Corps had a better knowledge of the intricacies of the capital's political life, and, as he was one of Washington's most popular hosts, his hospitality made it possible for me to meet in the intimacy of social gatherings a number of Washington's more important figures. With all these contacts, I was soon able to feel that I had a pretty good understanding of the political background against which any discussion of the I.L.O.'s affairs must take place. As in New York, there was a readiness to explore all sorts of new ideas but a much more realistic view of what was politically possible. Much as many might deplore it, they regarded any gesture towards the League as out of the question : I was told with equal frankness that the I.L.O., admirable though it might be, could not expect to be given any consideration : that the only international interest of the U.S.A. was in the Economic Conference, and that if it should prove a failure isolationism would become more pronounced than ever. This was not particularly encouraging but it suggested a line of argument that attracted attention. It had not been realized that the I.L.O. was actively interested in international economic policy ; that it had adopted at its last Conference a resolution proposed by Professor Alfred O'Rahilly on economic matters ; that it would be represented by a delegation at the forthcoming Economic Conference in London ; and that therefore it was perhaps a mistake to dismiss it so summarily from consideration.

My most important conversation was of course with Miss Perkins. She had kept the greater part of a morning free for a discussion which she was willing to continue until every aspect of the question had been

thoroughly explored, but although she was anxious to secure the closest possible collaboration with the I.L.O., she had no definite plan in mind as to what form it might take. She agreed with what I told her of the general impressions I had formed and was particularly interested in the link between the International Labour Conference and the forthcoming International Economic Conference which she asked me to explain to the Secretary of State. The idea of sending a delegation of observers to the I.L.O. Conference appealed to her and she promised to seek the President's approval for the appointment of such a delegation by the Department of Labor—a procedure which had the advantage that congressional approval would not be required. Secretary Hull, whom I saw later, proved equally generous with his time ; he expressed great interest in the I.L.O. and a readiness to examine with Miss Perkins what could be done to further collaboration with it.

## The U.S.A. Decides to Explore the I.L.O.

The following day Miss Perkins told me that she had seen the President and that he had given his approval to her proposal. Somewhat to my dismay she added that this approval must not be taken as final, but only as meaning that she could go ahead and get the proposal into detailed shape for a final decision at a Cabinet meeting. This indeed was as much as, or even more than, I could have hoped for and I felt I could inform Butler that things were going well and that prospects were favourable. There was of course still a danger that amid the feverish activity in Washington the proposal might get swamped in the flood of other and more pressing issues or that it would not secure final approval in the brief time remaining before the Conference was due to open. But on the whole I continued to feel optimistic even though I became somewhat concerned when no news reached me in Mexico. However, when, rather more than a couple of weeks after I had left Washington, I boarded the *Europa* at New York I found among my fellow passengers a delegation of United States observers bound for the I.L.O. Conference.

This was a great step forward and one that seemed to justify hopes that if all went well further developments might be possible in the future. That these would present difficulties was brought home to us by the discretion with which the observers felt it necessary to go about their task. While they were wholly sympathetic to the I.L.O. and grew steadily more impressed with the atmosphere and efficiency of the Conference, they made it clear that they had no other interest in Geneva. They took up their quarters some distance outside the city and drove in each day to the Conference hall, thus keeping themselves as remote as

possible from any contact with the seat of the League of Nations. Exaggerated as these precautions may seem, they were no doubt taken on instructions and were deemed to be necessary given the climate of public opinion that then prevailed in the United States.

The question of the relationship between the League and the I.L.O. was bound of course to figure in any discussion of some more effective collaboration between the I.L.O. and the United States. But it was a delicate political question that lay outside the competence of the observers whose mission, as they had made abundantly clear, was limited to reporting on the working of the Conference and on the I.L.O.'s social objectives. The task of reporting on the I.L.O.'s constitutional independence had therefore been confided by the State Department to the American Consul at Geneva, Prentiss Gilbert, a career man in the diplomatic service whose intelligence, experience and objectivity well qualified him to examine in a completely unbiased fashion the somewhat intricate legal and constitutional issues involved. The fact that this careful study was being undertaken was evidence that the United States did not consider that the attendance at the Conference of observers from the Department of Labor was the only form of collaboration with the I.L.O. that might be envisaged. Butler, of course, was more than willing to give Prentiss Gilbert every possible facility for his enquiry. He was confident that it must show that, though the I.L.O. was associated with the League and made use of the League machinery for certain purposes, the I.L.O. was a completely independent body that formulated its own policies and administered its affairs without League interference or control. He was also satisfied that the report of the observers would be wholly favourable both on the working of the Conference and the results that it had achieved.

## Roosevelt Authorizes an Approach to Congress

So far Butler had only ventured to suggest to Miss Perkins in very general terms that the question of closer collaboration between the United States and the I.L.O. should be explored. Now that that exploration had taken place and that the American Government was in possession of reports from its own representatives covering both the I.L.O.'s constitutional position and its methods of work, Butler felt that the ground had been cleared and that the possibility of United States membership might well be considered. He accordingly wrote to Miss Perkins suggesting that she should take up this question with the President. Miss Perkins has recorded[1] how she reacted to Butler's request ; how

[1] See ' *The Roosevelt I Knew* ' by Frances Perkins. Chapter XXVI, entitled " Approaches to World Order ".

she discussed the matter with the President ; and how he told her to approach the leaders of Congress individually and attempt to secure their approval. He impressed on her that the first and most important step would be to see that they understood the whole question of the relations between the I.L.O. and the League and that they must be satisfied that joining the I.L.O. would not involve the United States in any League obligations. This task Miss Perkins carried out with great skill and patience. Senators and Congressmen were immersed in the discussion of innumerable domestic questions of the greatest urgency and it was by no means easy, even for a member of the Cabinet, to secure their attention for the consideration of a complicated legal argument concerning an international institution with which they were little (if at all) familiar and which was remote from all their pressing preoccupations. The process was necessarily slow—the President with his political widom had specifically insisted that those approached should not be hurried and should be given plenty of time to come to their conclusions. Moreover, it had to be kept highly confidential ; there must be no leakage that might precipitate a discussion before the leaders of Congress had become fully conversant with the matter and capable of defending the favourable opinion at which it was hoped they would arrive. For this reason no communication could be made to Geneva, and as months went by with no news from Washington it began to look as though Butler's hopes were doomed to disappointment. He was, nevertheless, not inclined to give up without a further effort, but he was confronted with the same difficulty as at the earlier stage of being unable to judge whether any intervention on his part might not do more harm than good. His perplexity was the greater because he felt that the most favourable moment must be passing, that the promising atmosphere at the end of the Conference must be fading and that it would be impossible to renew it if the opportunities it provided were now to go by default. It happened that I had been in correspondence for some time with Professor Shotwell of Columbia University in connection with the volumes on " The Origins of the International Labour Organisation " which he was editing for the Carnegie Foundation, and that a number of points had arisen which could not easily be settled without a meeting between us. This afforded a good reason for my going to New York, and Butler authorized me to visit Washington, but only on the express condition that I should first make absolutely sure that if I did so I should cause no embarrassment. A few telephone calls made as soon as I disembarked made it clear that I need have no such apprehension but that on the contrary my presence would be welcome ; and exactly a week later I was again crossing the Atlantic in the opposite direction bearing the comforting news that all was ready for the submission of

the question to Congress and that favourable action by that body might be considered as imminent.

### The International Labour Conference faces up to its Responsibility

When the Conference opened on 4 June there was an undercurrent of excitement. Butler had of course to begin to prepare the ground and he had confidentially informed members of the Governing Body and heads of delegations that some approach by the United States might be expected. The journalists were alert, having somehow discovered that something was brewing. Butler evaded them successfully. He felt that the first announcement must come from the U.S.A. and that any statement he himself might make, however general in its terms, might upset things in Washington while Congress was still considering its decision. The journalists pursued with more success, but with no greater satisfaction, the American delegation of observers who were unwilling or unable—probably the latter—to give them any information. During these days, for reasons that will be given in a moment, Butler was under considerable strain, and that strain was intensified in almost comic fashion by two small incidents. On 6 June the American Consulate telephoned to say that they were sending up a cable from Washington. When Butler opened it, it proved to be a message from Miss Perkins regretting that she was unable to attend the Conference as she had hoped to do and asking that all possible facilities might be given to the American observers. Later the same day the Consulate again telephoned that another cable was on the way. This, a much more bulky envelope, seemed likely to contain the expected communication, particularly as, when the envelope was ripped open, it was seen to be signed by Cordell Hull. It turned out to be the official, and somewhat belated, communication of the full names and titles of the American observers. Several more days were to pass before Butler learned that congressional action had been completed and was favourable, but he still did not know the exact terms of the decision and felt compelled to maintain his silence. It was only on 21 June that the text reached him accompanied by an authorization to communicate it officially to the Conference and he was then able to inform the journalists that an important announcement would be made the following morning. Though the decision of Congress both in form and substance was wholly satisfactory he had still, as will be seen later, many serious anxieties, and a brief delay was necessary to arrange the procedure that the Conference should follow, and to prepare the text of a reply that the Conference might be asked to approve.

Towards the end of the sitting the next morning Butler communicated to the Conference a joint resolution of Congress that authorized the President of the United States to accept membership in the International Labour Organisation, and he added that he had been given to understand that the American Government would consider favourably an invitation to this effect. After half a dozen delegates had briefly expressed their satisfaction, the President of the Conference adjourned the sitting indicating that the Selection (or General) Committee would meet at 3.30 p.m. ; and that the Conference would reconvene in plenary sitting at 4.30. When the Conference reassembled punctually at the hour fixed, the Chairman of the Selection Committee laid before it a resolution for adoption. The text was short and clear. Its most important paragraph ran as follows :

*The International Labour Conference . . . hereby decides to invite the Government of the United States to accept membership in the International Labour Organisation it being understood that such acceptance involves only the rights and obligations provided in the Constitution of the Organisation and shall not involve any obligation under the Covenant of the League of Nations.*

The Chairman of the Selection Committee made no speech beyond his opening sentence in which he informed the Conference that the Selection Committee had been unanimous in submitting its proposal. Other delegates imposed on themselves a similar restraint. Like the members of the Selection Committee they realised the importance of allowing the terms of the resolution to express the decision of the Conference unaccompanied by any comment or paraphrase that might at some later time be quoted as shading its meaning. Only three or four delegates (including Frank Cremins representing Ireland) intervened to say in a few short sentences how warmly their Governments welcomed the proposal. The President then put the resolution to the Conference and it was adopted unanimously.

## The Conflict Between League and I.L.O. Policy

It may seem an exaggeration to accord to this decision of the Conference an importance equal to that of the action of the United States save in the sense that one was the complement of the other in order to secure the result desired by both. In retrospect it would seem inconceivable that the Conference should have followed any other course. But the matter was far from being as simple at that time as it must now appear. Just as Roosevelt had had a problem requiring careful and skilful handling extending over nearly twelve months,

Butler also had a problem demanding caution on his side and one that laid on him a heavy burden of anxiety and responsibility.

There had long been a conflict between the I.L.O. and the League over the question of the I.L.O.'s right to include in its membership States not members of the League of Nations. The view of the I.L.O. was that while it was specifically provided that Members of the League were Members of the International Labour Organisation this provision did not limit the right of the latter to admit other Members ; and in support of this thesis it pointed to the fact that Germany and Austria had been admitted to I.L.O. membership by the first Conference in 1919. It was argued on the other side that there was no text giving the I.L.O. the right in question and that such a right could not be assumed merely on the ground that it had not been specifically excluded ; and that the admission of Germany and Austria did not constitute a precedent since they had been admitted in special circumstances " in anticipation of their becoming Members of the League ". The issue remained academic until Brazil, having withdrawn from the League, announced her desire of remaining in the I.L.O. The Secretary General of the League made a vigorous protest in the Fourth Committee of the Assembly, asserting that this was constitutionally impossible, but took no further steps. Brazil, her League membership having terminated, sent a delegation to the International Labour Conference : the credentials of the delegates were accepted, and their votes counted, without comment.

This, however, could not be held to settle the matter even by way of precedent. Brazil had become a Member of the I.L.O. as a Member of the League and it could be argued that her I.L.O. membership thus constitutionally acquired was unaffected by her subsequent withdrawal from the League.

In the case of the United States, however, which had never been a Member of the League, and in which no special circumstances could be invoked as in the case of Germany and Austria, the issue was clear cut. That legal experts should hold different views on the constitutional points involved was not in itself particularly dangerous. What mattered was that any action by the I.L.O. to admit to membership a State not a Member of the League ran directly counter to what had become a major element in League policy ; the assertion that there could be no such thing as fractional membership allowing a State full rights of participation only in such League activities as specially appealed to it, and that a State could acquire such rights only by acquiring full membership in the League and in no other way. This policy did not exclude forms of association with the League's technical activities but such association amounted to something less than full membership. The advocates of this policy believed that it was the best way to enlarge the

League's membership. It was their conviction that no Great Power (and in particular the United States, for it was United States membership at which the policy was aimed) could, or could for long, accept a position of inferior status in which it could express only technical views and in which it would have no voice in the financial decisions on which the practical carrying out of the technical activities in which it was interested must depend.

The prospect of the entry of the United States into full membership of the I.L.O. appeared as a formidable threat to the maintenance of this policy as an effective weapon. How far would the League dare to oppose it? And if it did not openly oppose, how far might its influence operating through various channels, not succeed in securing that Government delegates at the I.L.O. Conference would manoeuvre for the adoption of some formula that would at all events preserve in some degree the policy to which such fundamental importance was attached? These were real anxieties in Butler's mind and they had increased rather than diminished when the terms of the Joint Resolution of Congress was communicated to him. It was clear that the United States desired "membership" without qualification; that the President was not authorized to accept anything less; and that if the Conference proposed any alternative and less comprehensive formula it must not only be rejected but would be regarded as a rebuff that the United States would not easily forgive or forget. As we have seen, the response of the Conference was rapid, unambiguous and unanimous. The Organisation showed the cohesion, the sense of responsibility for its own destiny and the jealousy of its independence with which Albert Thomas had striven to endow it; and as a consequence the United States became a Member of the I.L.O. on 20 August 1934, the date on which President Roosevelt, exercising the powers conferred on him by Congress accepted the invitation addressed to him. That date has its importance in the history of the I.L.O. but it marks another event to which historians will no doubt attach a much wider significance, the beginning of the progress of the United States from extreme isolation to leadership in the creation of the United Nations and in the struggle to make that institution an effective guarantee of a peaceful world.

## New Financial Regulations

The admission of the United States to membership in the I.L.O. ran counter, as we have seen, to League policy, and though no overt protest was made relations between the two bodies became less cordial. Had this situation continued, it might have raised some awkward problems but fortunately it was of short duration. Indeed not long afterwards

the League entirely reversed its previous policy and set out to group its own economic and social activities into a single organisation of an autonomous character in which it hoped to include States not among its Members. Meanwhile certain adjustments had to be made in League—I.L.O. relations and as these have some importance in the I.L.O.'s history they must be briefly referred to.

The financial system under which the I.L.O.'s budget was incorporated in the General Budget of the League is far too complicated to be described here. It had evolved as a kind of *modus vivendi* between the two organisations and its successful operation depended entirely on the existence of a large measure of goodwill and understanding between them. In practice the system respected the I.L.O.'s independence but in form the legal basis for the collection of the I.L.O.'s contributions derived from the Assembly's adoption of the League's General Budget. In theory, therefore, the Assembly controlled the I.L.O.'s finances though it had never exercised this power so as to interfere with the I.L.O.'s policies and activities. This situation, which derived from the original assumption that League and I.L.O. membership would coincide, gave rise to no difficulty so long as the exceptions to such coincidence of membership were few and did not include any Great Power. With the advent of the United States some new system had clearly to be devised. The problem was one of considerable delicacy but with good sense and much ingenuity it was solved and the necessary amendments to the League's Financial Regulations were adopted by the Assembly.[1] It was necessarily complicated because it had to provide for the operation of two parallel systems, the one a complete I.L.O. system in which all I.L.O. Members participated, the other a League system in which I.L.O. Members who were also League Members played their part. It may seem that it would have been infinitely simpler for the I.L.O. to have cut completely loose from the League and to have taken its financial machinery entirely into its own hands. But the I.L.O. did not desire any such separation. Under the circumstances prevailing at that time there were great advantages in having the League responsible for securing the contributions of League—I.L.O. Members and if those Members preferred to make their contributions through League channels, and were accustomed to do so, it would have been folly to impose on them a different method of payment. There were, of course, dangers of conflict in a dual system and it could easily have broken down. As a matter of fact it operated astonishingly well and was one more proof that the secret of political institutions lies

[1] The financial system thus worked out between the I.L.O. and the League was a very interesting piece of international machinery. It is described in the Chapter entitled " Finance " in the Report on " Future Policy, Programme and Status of the International Labour Organisation " which I presented to the I.L.O. Conference in 1944.

in the will to make them work and not in the perfection of their theoretical planning. The time was to come when the I.L.O. would have to take complete responsibility for its own finances and, when it did, the experience gained in operating the dual system proved invaluable.

### HAROLD BUTLER IS SUCCEEDED BY JOHN WINANT

The entry of the United States into the Organisation was the outstanding event of Harold Butler's directorship, but it was far from being his sole achievement and in many other ways he showed that he was well fitted to be Albert Thomas' successor. Though he had to face new problems and though he brought to his task another set of qualities, the fact that the two men had been so long associated in the direction of the I.L.O.'s affairs had the consequence that, apart from the external impression given by their very different personalities, the I.L.O. continued almost as if there had been no change. This continuity, extending over a period of some 17 years, was an important feature in the I.L.O.'s development since it permitted the I.L.O.'s methods of thought and action to acquire something approaching the character of a well established tradition. The existence of such a tradition is of special importance to an international institution ; it alone can imbue newcomers to the staff with an effective sense of the nature of international service and thereby inspire and perpetuate that loyalty without which an international institution cannot hope to function successfully or in the long run even to survive.

When Harold Butler resigned in 1938 to become Warden of Nuffield College, the Governing Body appointed John Winant to the post of Director. Winant was a well known public figure in the United States having been three times Governor of the State of New Hampshire and having had the further distinction, although a Republican, of having served as Chairman of the Social Security Board in Roosevelt's administration.[1] He was also well known in the I.L.O. having been a United States delegate to the Conference, having presided over the I.L.O.'s Textile Conference in Washington in 1937, and having served for two brief periods as one of Butler's Assistant Directors. The two years during which he was Director were unfortunately to see Europe engulfed in the chaos and destruction of the Second World War and there was therefore no opportunity to discover how his unusual gifts and a background of experience so different from those of his precedecessors would have influenced the I.L.O.'s development. Brief though his tenure of office was he rendered one great service to the Organisation that made his directorship memorable.

[1] The Social Security Act provided that the Social Security Board, which consisted of three members, should be bipartisan. Roosevelt chose Winant for the post of Chairman.

## The I.L.O. in Wartime

As soon as it appeared that there was grave danger of a European war the I.L.O. had taken steps to meet such emergencies as it could be foreseen might arise. The Governing Body laid down the principle that the Organisation should continue to function ; an Emergency Committee was appointed with full powers to act in place of the Governing Body if the latter should be unable to meet ; governments were approached and their approval obtained for a procedure to avoid the dislocation of the I.L.O.'s staff by measures of national mobilisation ; and in consultation with the League an emergency procedure for the adoption of the budget was devised that could be employed if no meeting of the Assembly could be held. It was realized at an early stage in these preparations that it might become difficult, or even impossible, for the I.L.O. to function effectively from Geneva, and an offer from the French Government to give the I.L.O. hospitality in Vichy, if that eventuality should arise, was accepted. In the first months of 1940, as the situation grew more serious, various practical precautions were taken ; a lease of the Pavillon de Sevigné at Vichy was negotiated and the I.L.O.'s most valuable archives, packed in some scores of boxes, were removed there, the office retaining only current working files. This detail is worth recording because the sequel provides an example of the confused conditions in which other measures had later to be taken. When the French defences collapsed, German mechanised units penetrated to Vichy and even further south, and the Pavillon de Sevigné was for some weeks a German military headquarters. German staff officers took their meals in the Pavillon dining room along one wall of which were ranged the boxes containing the I.L.O.'s documents. Somehow these escaped their curiosity and after the armistice was signed the German forces withdrew northwards and the I.L.O. was able to rescue its archives and bring them unnoticed safely back to Geneva, leaving the Pavillon de Sevigné to become the official residence of Marshal Pétain.

The Governing Body's decision that the I.L.O. should continue to function was based on the knowledge that during the First World War social problems, far from losing their importance, had become more varied and more acute and it therefore concluded that there would be numerous fields for useful I.L.O. activities. This proved to be correct, but various practical difficulties and problems arose that could not have been foreseen because there had been no experience of carrying on the activities of a general international organisation in wartime conditions. As regards the staff, for instance, it had been supposed that the danger

of its dislocation would come from the operation of measures of military mobilisation. The precautions taken to secure that such mobilisation should not unduly interfere with the I.L.O., however, worked satisfactorily. What was not foreseen was that, whereas a national civil service finds a greater cohesion and a stronger sense of the value of its activities in wartime, an international civil service was on the contrary likely to undergo a certain disintegration and that many of its members would feel that a higher duty called them to share the dangers and activities of their compatriots at home. This would have created a serious problem had it not been that the catastrophe in Europe rapidly attained such dimensions that the staff had to be drastically reduced for financial reasons. The question of finance indeed became a fundamental preoccupation. If, and the possibility could not be excluded, the League and the I.L.O. should have to be wound up, they must be able to meet all their financial obligations. This meant that such modest reserves as existed must, so far as possible, be kept intact ; it meant therefore that actual expenditure (as opposed to expenditure authorized by the budget) must be kept in line with income actually received ; and as country after country was overrun and the prospect of receiving any contribution from them disappeared, reductions in expenditure on a massive scale became necessary. Since the greater part of the I.L.O.'s expenditure was in salaries these reductions involved the dismissal of officials and the payment to them of the indemnities due under their contracts in such an eventuality. The reduction in staff had therefore to be more than proportionate to the loss of income ; in the final upshot, while income declined by rather more than 50 per cent., only about 10 per cent. of the staff could be retained. It will be readily seen that the problem of making so great a cut in staff and yet keeping a nucleus internationally composed and technically competent so that the I.L.O. might still render a measure of useful service and be ready to expand when resources became available was one of considerable difficulty. But all this was overshadowed by a more fundamental question. The modest establishment that financial conditions thus imposed could only be maintained and its future extension hoped for if the I.L.O. could in fact demonstrate that it had real functions to perform, as the Governing Body had believed, and that it could render real services to its Members. In order to be able to do so the I.L.O. must have freedom : freedom of communications ; freedom of movement for its staff to travel for purposes of consultation and technical assistance ; and freedom to convene the representative meetings which were the very essence of its life and which alone could decide on the activities that it could most usefully pursue in the interests of its Members. Until the first days of April 1940 this problem did not become acute and it

was still envisaged that the Conference would meet in Geneva in June. On 9 April the situation suddenly altered and catastrophe followed catastrophe with scarcely a pause. Denmark and Norway were invaded ; the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg suffered the same fate ; the French defences collapsed and the British army was hemmed in at Dunkirk ; Italy declared war on France and Great Britain ; and by 14 June the victorious Germans had entered Paris and swept on to the south.

## The Decision to Move the I.L.O. to Canada

As this situation developed the position of Switzerland became more and more precarious. At one stage invasion was believed to be imminent ; had the German thrust through the Argonne not succeeded, the alternative of turning the Maginot line by an advance through the valley of the Rhone might well have been undertaken. These were anxious weeks when the roads leading to Geneva were mined ; when anti-tank defences were erected ; and when, with Winant's permission, Swiss troops and light artillery occupied the I.L.O.'s grounds to guard against the possibility of enemy forces landing from hydroplanes on the lake. As things turned out Switzerland happily remained uninvaded; but she was surrounded and the I.L.O. found itself practically isolated in the middle of a hostile Europe.

Well before this final stage was reached Winant had decided that he must move the I.L.O. if it was to escape paralysis or even possibly extinction. It was by no means an easy decision for him to take. The Emergency Committee could not meet and his constitutional power to take such a decision, on his own responsibility, was open to question. Such members of the Governing Body as he was able to consult individually were strongly opposed to the idea. The staff was unhappy and divided, partly because, as has been noted, national sentiments had come to the fore and most of the Europeans were against leaving Europe, partly because in the conditions prevailing many thought any attempt to operate the Office elsewhere would be a failure and that the best chance of saving the I.L.O. was to "sit it out" as the Secretariat of the League had decided to do. Views that he felt were influenced by personal ties or reflected a defeatist disinclination to take risks Winant was prepared to ignore. But other arguments were put forward that caused him deep concern. It was urged that the I.L.O. more than any other international organisation had intimate bonds with the peoples of its Member States ; that many of these peoples were clinging in their distress to any fragment of the world as they had previously known it that remained unsubmerged ;

that to many in Europe the I.L.O. was such a fragment, powerless indeed to do anything to give any assistance, but still a symbol of hope ; and that in these circumstances its departure would be regarded as " running away "—a flight and a betrayal. This view was shared by some of Winant's American friends and it made a strong appeal to the warmheartedness and sympathy for all in distress which were dominant traits in his character.

Nevertheless he remained unshaken in his decision and took steps to carry it out. He had come to the I.L.O. with the special blessing of President Roosevelt and it was naturally to the United States that he turned for assistance. He cabled to Secretary Hull explaining the Office's predicament and asking whether the American Government would be prepared to receive the I.L.O. in the United States. The answer, though couched in most sympathetic terms, was definitely negative as regards any immediate move though it held out hopes that the matter might be reconsidered in several months' time. This was a severe and unexpected blow. Winant was unable to believe that the gravity of the I.L.O.'s situation had been really understood and he was also convinced that if the I.L.O. did not get out of Geneva quickly it would be marooned there for the duration of the war and condemned to complete inactivity. He therefore decided to go at once to the United States, confident that he would succeed in overcoming whatever difficulties or hesitations had arisen. Having reached Lisbon he found he could fly to London and back before the departure of his clipper and he immediately decided to do so in the hope, which was fulfilled, that he would find in Great Britain support and encouragement for his plans. We had many days of acute anxiety in the I.L.O. during which, beyond having learnt that he intended to visit London, we were left without any further news. Air travel to and from Europe was of course attended by risk and as no word reached us either from London or Lisbon our apprehensions grew. We did not realize that precisely because of these risks all movements of aircraft were kept highly secret for fear of German interference and no message could be sent that might even indirectly reveal an arrival or departure. This silence was only broken, and then in dramatic fashion, by a telephone call from the other side of the Atlantic in which Winant informed me, using a number of code words on which we had agreed before his departure, that I was to proceed at once with some 40 members of the staff to Montreal and disperse the remainder according to our prearranged plan. He impressed on me that he had information pointing to the need for the swiftest possible action and a few hours later a cable arrived emphasizing this injunction with the words " get the job done by tomorrow if possible period work all night ".

### Transportation and Other Difficulties

To work all night presented no difficulty but to get the staff away in anything like the time he suggested was a complete impossibility and he evidently had no conception of the complexity or difficulty of the arrangements involved. To begin with I had not even the exact list of those who were to go ; their names Winant had told me would be communicated to me by the American Consul who would have authority to give them visas for entry to the United States ; and the necessary instructions to the Consul did not of course arrive as rapidly as Winant's brief personal cable. Other visas, not easy to obtain, were also required ; Portugal, congested with refugees, would only give visas on the production of clear evidence, such as a steamship ticket, that the persons applying would not remain in the country ; a Spanish visa was also necessary ; two special visas had to be obtained in order to travel through France and these had to be specially authorized by the Ministry in Vichy ; and of course all these visas and permits could only be obtained by successive operations as the passports had to be presented to each Consulate or Legation. These and other difficulties, for instance no trains were running in France and the I.L.O. had to organise its own transport to the Spanish frontier, inevitably delayed the departure of the group for some ten days.

On one point I had felt compelled to quarrel with Winant's instructions and that concerned my own movements. One of my responsibilities was finance and I was therefore seriously preoccupied with the question of a constitutionally adopted budget for 1941, since in the absence of such a budget the I.L.O. would have no authority to spend money after the end of the year and no contributions from Governments would be legally due. Under the Emergency procedure a valid budget could be adopted with the approval of the League's Supervisory Commission, and, as there were hopes that a meeting of this small body could be arranged in Geneva, I explained to Winant that I thought it essential to postpone my own departure until this meeting had been held. Winant waved all my arguments aside ; he asserted his willingness to accept the responsibility for having no budget and his confidence that the difficulty could somehow be surmounted ; he urged me to leave at the earliest possible moment, even ahead of the rest of the group once the arrangements for its departure were made ; and he insisted again and again that I might be shut in. I remained unconvinced. I had had a long experience of the difficulties involved in financing an international institution and I was certain that these difficulties would be still greater in wartime. I felt, too, that Winant did not appreciate the fundamental issue involved, namely that in the absence of a legal right to collect

its contributions the I.L.O. would have to live on alms from charitable governments and would lose both its independence and its status, the very things that the move to Canada was intended to preserve. It was impossible of course to have any effective discussion of such issues by cable and Winant no doubt thought I was being unreasonably obstinate. In the end, however, he agreed, though reluctantly, to a compromise ; I would stay for a fortnight and if by then I had no certainty of securing a meeting I would proceed to Lisbon and try to get one there. At the end of the agreed period it was clear that no meeting could be hoped for and I accordingly left Geneva accompanied by R. J. P. Mortished.

## A Journey Through Stricken France

We drove south from Geneva keeping east of the Rhone. Under a summer sky the scenic beauty of Dauphiné was at its best. But the sunlit peace of mountain and valley only heightened by its contrast the atmosphere of gloom and despondency in the towns and villages through which we passed. They were curiously lifeless and silent. People moved listlessly as though in a torpor ; they seemed like sleep-walkers whose eyes saw nothing of the world around them and whose minds were remote. There was no physical destruction to be seen but its absence brought out more poignantly how terrible were the spiritual wounds that France had received. It was not difficult to understand how great had been the shock that had so affected the French people. France had been the greatest military power in Europe : her prestige had dominated the continent ; even when the storm of war had broken with a new and frightening violence and had overwhelmed with unparallelled rapidity other countries, the French people had believed themselves safe from invasion behind the impregnable Maginot line, and though they had known that they must face a struggle long and costly in precious French lives they had been confident that in the end French valour and military genius would triumphantly drive back the aggressor. Now all had crumbled in almost instantaneous chaos and disaster ; everything that had been France's pride and glory had vanished in a nightmare of incredible and ignominious collapse.

In the face of so great a catastrophe, going far beyond any imaginable military defeat, it is not to be wondered at that they saw no glimmer of hope, that they felt that British resistance must be futile, and that even if Great Britain herself survived, her survival could at the best be only the result of a stalemate that would leave the continent unaffected. And indeed they were not alone in thinking that the dimensions of the disaster

made it irremediable. What other conclusion could the few small countries that remained be expected to reach? They might be spared invasion and occupation but how feeble and insecure must be their independence in a Europe dominated by a single great and ruthless military power. The time was to come when hope would revive and the spark of resistance still alive in a few bold spirits would slowly spread and then burst into flame. But meanwhile the attitude of resigned despair just described was general on the continent and it is only in its light that some of the incidents that will be later recounted can be readily understood.

When we crossed to the right bank of the Rhone the scene became still more melancholy. Hitherto we had encountered no refugees, because all the bridges north of Avignon were down, but now we found masses of them camped on the roadside surrounded by such personal possessions as they had been able to carry with them in their headlong flight. The flood was beginning to turn. Small groups were making their way north again passing others who still struggled on towards the Spanish frontier. But the majority, exhausted both morally and physically, seemed unable to go either forward or back. What we saw, of course, was only a small fraction of a situation prevailing over a vast area but it was a spectacle not easily forgotten. Although all normal organisation seemed hopelessly disrupted life somehow went on in haphazard fashion through the enterprise and resource of individuals. We found beds in Avignon in a famous hotel but only after a long search through crowded streets were we able to discover a small obscure restaurant where we could obtain a simple meal, which incidentally was extremely well cooked. In Perpignan conditions were much more difficult and after an uncomfortable night we were glad to make an early start for the Spanish frontier.

## An Anxious Moment at the Spanish Frontier

Now that we were practically over what we had anticipated would be the most uncertain part of our journey I began for the first time to feel an unreasonable anxiety lest I should, as Winant had so peristently warned, find myself unable to get through. Our road ran along the coast to Port Bou where, confined between the Pyrennees and the sea, it constitutes the main channel into Spain. I studied my map, and although our petrol supply was running low I turned away from the coast along a small secondary road that was shown as having a customs station some few miles inland. After climbing up through a series of small wooded valleys we reached the frontier and our special exit permits

carried us past the French officials without difficulty. The Spanish post, a hundred yards or so further on, was a modest affair, but the care with which its two uniformed occupants studied my passport, scrutinizing each page with attention and then turning back and beginning the operation all over again while they whispered together as though confronted with a grave decision, caused me increasing apprehension. I mustered as much dignity and authority as possible and pointing to my passport said impatiently " Diplomatic ". " Yes " replied the guard, and then after a pause that seemed ominous he asked shamefacedly " What country, sir ? ". It was an immense relief to discover that the source of his difficulty was that he had never seen an Irish passport before. He understood my reply in halting Spanish and smiled with pleasure. " The Irish Minister in Madrid " he said, nodding with satisfaction. I decided to let this pass as an assertion rather than a question and so I contented myself with repeating that I had diplomatic status and was proceeding to the United States *via* Lisbon, as the various diplomatic visas indicated. He listened patiently but evidently seemed to think this was going into much unnecessary detail. " The Irish Minister " he said firmly to his colleague with the air of a man who had solved a difficult problem with success, and bowed us courteously on.

Some weeks later I had reason to bless the hunch that had led me off the main road. I learned that Sean Lester, the Acting Secretary General of the League of Nations, accompanied by the President of the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Treasurer of the League, had been stopped at the main frontier station on their way to the meeting of the Supervisory Commission at Lisbon and, after spending two days in futile telephone calls to Madrid, had been compelled to retrace their steps to Geneva. Just two days before I had entered Spain instructions had been sent from Madrid to all frontier posts not to allow any League or I.L.O. officials through. Either these instructions, which doubtless had their origin in a request from Berlin, had not reached the officials at the minor post through which I passed or their difficulties with the Irish language had so completely absorbed their faculties that my connection with the I.L.O. had failed to attract attention.

On our journey through Spain our route from Barcelona to Madrid passed through a region that had seen some of the severest fighting during the Civil War. Little or no reconstruction had taken place ; towns still showed the marks of heavy bombardment, their streets half choked with rubble above which half-demolished buildings hung precariously ; bridges were either still down or had been repaired only in the most makeshift fashion with a few beams and planks. Though the

spectacle was not as tragic as in France, here was another corner of Europe that left a saddening impression. The whole note was one of poverty and exhaustion.

### Portugal an Oasis

Portugal presented an astonishing and delightful contrast ; everything was neat and orderly ; houses gave the impression of having been freshly painted ; the little towns were bright and clean and food was varied and abundant. What struck us forcibly in the circumstances of our journey was the petrol situation. In France there had been none at all ; in Spain it was as scarce as gold and only to be procured in exchange for American dollars—and even then much patience and persistence was required before a source of supply could be located ; in Portugal it could be procured without difficulty in the normal way at any wayside garage. What struck us more forcibly still on arrival in Lisbon was the atmosphere of freedom and independence. Newspapers carried both the British and German communiqués—in Spain only the latter appeared—and we felt we were again in contact with the outside world. Lisbon indeed seemed a gay and happy city. A great exhibition lined the banks of the Tagus in celebration of the eight-hundredth anniversary of Portugal's foundation and the third anniversary of her independence.

The exhibits in some scores of pavilions showed all aspects of her life and recounted the exploits of her great navigators and explorers who had carried her flag and her faith to vast undiscovered regions in all parts of the globe. I could remember no other exhibition that had so admirably and so colourfully fulfilled its purpose. But it may be that it made a special appeal at that moment giving as it did so dramatic a panorama not only of Portugal's great achievements but also of centuries of that civilization of Europe of which Portugal seemed now one of the last remaining fragments. Would she escape the fate that had overwhelmed almost the whole of the continent ? As I made a round of visits to members of the Diplomatic Corps I found that underneath the cheerful and carefree aspect of the city there was serious apprehension. The aerial attack on London was in full swing and as its intensity increased day by day few could believe or hope that Britain would be able to survive. Moreover, Portugal's stocks of food and petrol and the strategic value of her ports were tempting prizes that Hitler could take by lifting a finger ; and her courageous charity in affording asylum to so many thousands of refugees from the territories under his control was in itself a defiance that might easily excite his anger and provoke his vengeance.

As one Ambassador remarked, pointing to the map, " German mechanised forces could be in here in a matter of hours ". In the event, Portugal, like Switzerland, escaped invasion, but there is now plenty of evidence that the dangers that threatened them at that time were far from imaginary.

## Vichy and the French Staff

So far as the I.L.O. was concerned the immediate problem was that of securing passages across the Atlantic. This was no simple task as all shipping space was booked up for weeks ahead. Slowly, however, places were found whenever at the last moment, because their papers were not in order or for some other reason, passengers cancelled their bookings. In the end the whole I.L.O. group got away, some on cargo steamers, others on Greek and Spanish and American liners.

Meanwhile another problem arose. The Governments of Member States had of course been informed of the transfer to Canada and of the reasons why it had been decided. I received a reply from the French Government in which it protested against the movement of staff to a belligerent country and demanded that the officials of French nationality should be sent back to Geneva. This communication placed the French members of the staff in a most difficult situation and created a conflict between their national and their international loyalties. But it raised equally difficult problems for the I.L.O. If the I.L.O. gave way it would be a humiliating surrender of its independence and authority. On the other hand, if it refused, it could give its French staff no protection if they continued in its service ; and the possibility of their being deprived of their passports and exposed to other sanctions could not be lightly dismissed. These were grave issues and there were also general political considerations to be taken into account that would have to be carefully weighed. Clearly, only the Director himself could take a decision and Winant accordingly flew to Lisbon to examine all the conflicting elements involved. The reply sent to the French Government maintained, so far as possible in the circumstances, the I.L.O.'s right to make use of members of its staff wherever in the Director's judgment they could render most effective service. Vichy was informed that the French members of the staff would be attached to the group remaining in Geneva and would not be asked to go to a belligerent country. This was a diplomatic formula that on the surface gave Vichy a measure of satisfaction without in reality conceding much in substance, since both groups were equally under the Director's control. The commitment that

French staff would not be asked to go to a belligerent country left it open to use them elsewhere as occasion might require, and was no more than the admission that in war conditions the freedom of movement of particular members of the I.L.O.'s staff might suffer restrictions depending on their nationality. The French Government did not pursue the matter further, satisfied perhaps that they had covered themselves sufficiently against any complaint from Berlin. The French members of the staff were sent to Washington, where they could work in close contact with their colleagues in Montreal, and there they remained till the entry of the United States into the war obliterated the distinction it had been possible to draw between Washington and Montreal. By the time that happened, the position of Vichy as the sole centre that could claim French allegiance had been greatly weakened by the increasing importance in the number and quality of de Gaulle's adherents. In these circumstances the totality of the I.L.O.'s small group was at last concentrated in Montreal without protest and without the members of the French contingent being exposed to any exceptional risk.

## The Jigsaw Puzzle of the Supervising Commission

After Winant's departure from Lisbon I continued my efforts to secure a meeting of the Supervisory Commission. The Commission was a small body consisting of only seven members. Two, however, were to all intents and purposes prisoners in occupied countries ; another, who held a high official position in France, was clearly unavailable in view of Vichy's attitude to the League ; the Chairman, Mr Carl Hambro of Norway, was in the United States on an important mission for his country and the difficulties and delays involved in crossing the Atlantic made his attendance impossible. Of the remaining members, Sir Cecil Kisch, the Vice-Chairman, was willing to fly from London ; the Latin American member was expected to reach Lisbon on his way home in the near future ; and there was hope of persuading the seventh member, who was a member of the Diplomatic Corps in Vichy, to attend. The terms of the Emergency Resolution had been deliberately made extremely wide so as to cover all contingencies and they did not exclude the securing of members' approval by correspondence, but for the purpose of adopting the budget a meeting, however restricted in numbers, had many advantages. The readiness of countries to pay their contributions would certainly be increased if they had the assurance that proposals for expenditure had been carefully examined by independent members of the Commission meeting with the executive heads of the organisations concerned, whom they could question fully on the justification for the figures put forward. While this exploration of the possibilities of the

situation was proceeding, Mr Hambro made the interesting suggestion that the President of the Council of the League, Mr Costa du Rels of Bolivia, who was about to pass through Lisbon, could be co-opted as a member if the members attending the meeting agreed. Since their agreement might be counted on there seemed every prospect of reaching the figure of four which had the merit of being a majority of the Commission's original membership of seven. An obstacle, that could not possibly have been foreseen but that was typical of the conditions that have previously been described, arose at the last moment. When the member of the Diplomatic Corps at Vichy arrived, he explained to his colleagues that he had only made the journey out of courtesy to them and in order to explain personally what he could not do by letter, that in the existing delicate situation of his country he could not take any part in the Commission's work. After much persuasion he consented to sit at the table while the Commission opened its session, it being understood that he would leave immediately after the preliminary formalities and so have no responsibility for any financial decisions the Commission might subsequently take. In opening the meeting the Vice-Chairman expressed the Commission's regret that they were not able to have his assistance and at the same time announced the acceptance of the Chairman's proposal for the co-option of Mr Costa du Rels.

The meeting presented one other unusual feature that is worth recording. As already recounted, the Acting Secretary General and the League Treasurer had been unable to reach Lisbon and Sean Lester cabled asking me to represent him in the discussion. In the past (and as was to happen again in the future) the views of the I.L.O. and of the Secretariat on financial questions had often been at variance and it would have been difficult to imagine how the defence of their conflicting interests could have been undertaken by one and the same person. On this occasion, since both administrations had endeavoured to cut expenditure to the minimum, their common defence was easily possible.

At the end of three days, devoted to a careful scrutiny of every item, the Commission was satisfied that, after some minor adjustments, the proposals laid before them could be accepted and Mr Hambro, who had been kept in touch with their conclusions, likewise expressed his approval. Since the two members who were in occupied countries were clearly prevented by *force majeure* from expressing any opinion and must therefore be regarded as having ceased to be capable of performing their functions, the number of members of the Commission effectively in office was six. As four of these had now formally signified their approval, the League

and I.L.O. budgets for 1941 had in consequence been duly adopted under the Emergency procedure.

So far as the League was concerned the matter was finished. In the case of the I.L.O. the other half of its dual system had yet to be operated so as to cover the position of its Members who were not Members of the League. This was done by submitting by cable the main figures of the budget to the Members of the Governing Body. The great majority promptly cabled their acceptance of them and this telegraphic decision was subsequently confirmed when some months later the Governing Body was able to meet in the United States.

## Across the Atlantic and Out of the War Zone

When the Supervisory Commission had drawn up its Report my task in Lisbon was completed and a few days later I embarked on the *Excambion* for New York. My anticipation that the ship would be crowded proved more than correct. All cabin space was of course filled to capacity but much other accommodation had been improvised. Only the dining room and a small bar remained in use for their original purposes ; all the other public rooms had been stripped of their furniture and turned into dormitories by the simple expedient of spreading as many mattresses on the floor as could be fitted in. But there was no complaint from those to whom such places had been allotted and no protest at the discomfort and congestion they were compelled to endure ; other emotions and preoccupations predominated in their minds : relief at having escaped from the horrors that had pursued them in their flight across half of Europe, and hope that they might at last be able to piece together in the new world such fragments as remained to them of the existence the old world had so cruelly and so brutally shattered. As the voyage proceeded in warm sunshine (for we were obviously following a southern route) and over a sea that was fortunately calm, faces became less strained and an almost happy concern with the problems of the future seemed to replace, or at all events to dull, the memory of past tragedies. It was, therefore, something of a shock when some days after leaving Lisbon the sudden appearance of a British destroyer speeding down from the horizon brought a reminder that although Europe lay far behind we were still in the zone of hostilities. Signals were exchanged as the destroyer slowed down and ran parallel to our course. Were we being inspected to make sure we were not a German raider in disguise ? or being warned of submarines lying in wait ahead ? No explanation was forthcoming and speculation reawakened anxieties that these peaceful days in a deceitfully empty ocean had led us almost to forget. A call

at Bermuda, where the ship's mail was unloaded and left for the purposes of censorship was, however, the only other incident of the voyage until the *Excambion* berthed in New York and one more group of refugees filed down the gangway to set foot in the land of freedom which had been the object of their hopes and struggles since their agony in Europe began.

EDWARD PHELAN

## What is the I.L.O.?

The I.L.O. was established in 1919, which makes it among the oldest of the inter-governmental agencies operating today. It was created in the peace settlement that followed the First World War, and in the years between the wars it was linked with the League of Nations.

The I.L.O. is an association of nations—an association created to do a specific job. This job is to improve working and living conditions all over the world. But beyond this immediate purpose is the longer range objective of helping to establish an international community of nations in which all peoples may live at peace amid steadily increasing prosperity.

Three groups share in controlling the I.L.O. :

the first of these is composed of the governments which created it and which finance it ;

the second is the workers for whose benefit it was established ;

the last is the employers, whose interest in the Organisation's aims is equal to labour's and without whose co-operation these aims could not be achieved.

—from *The Story of the I.L.O.*, Geneva 1951

# The Primacy of St Peter

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WE propose to give here an account of the contents of a recent Protestant work on St Peter which has aroused widespread interest.* The author thought at one time of dedicating it to his Roman Catholic friends, and still hopes it may promote a genuine mutual understanding. We can only welcome the effort, and hope to render his thought as faithfully and sympathetically as possible. We shall therefore follow closely the words and order of the book, and put our own comments, where clarity demands it, in brackets.

## The Disciple and the Apostle

Dr Cullmann's first section runs as follows : The disciple of Jesus Symeon-Simon (compare for the double name, Saul-Paul) has also a descriptive title, in Aramaic Kepha, in Greek Petros, " stone ", " rock ". Jesus gave him the title, to point out the promise and obligation inherent in his momentous situation, just as in the Old Testament God gave Abraham and others significant names. Peter became a proper name, like Christ for Jesus, but we should think of Peter as Simon Rock. The precise time that the name was given cannot be determined. The disciple came from Bethsaida, on the north of the lake of Galilee, a Jewish town in Gentile surroundings, where he must have learnt Greek and gained some " culture ", though of course he had not studied by Greek or Jewish standards. We find him settled later at Capharnaum, a fisherman in partnership with the sons of Zebedee, and like them, a disciple of John the Baptist.

In the Synoptic Gospels, he occupies a unique position within the group of disciples. One of the first called, he is almost always in the foreground, even in the innermost circle formed by James and John and himself : thus at the miraculous catch of fish (Luke 5), or when walking like his Master on the sea. He is the accepted spokesman of the disciples, who appear as " Peter and his companions " (Mark 1:36), and it is to him that Jesus directs question or rebuke which are meant for all. Outsiders recognize him as leader of the disciples, (Mt 17:24)—as do the Resurrection angels (Mk 16:7) ! Each of the Synoptics proclaims his pre-eminence in their own way : Matthew, for whom he is " the first " in the catalogue, most copiously ; Luke, who gives the saying of Jesus which singles out Peter as the special object of His prayer and care, for his mission of strengthening his brothers (22:31) ; Mark, who knows that Simon was given the name and function of Rock. In the gospel of John, the picture is somewhat

* *Peter : Disciple-Apostle-Martyr.* A Historical and Theological Study by Oscar Cullman, Dr. Theol., D.D. (Edin.), D.D. (Manchester), Professor in Basel and Paris. Translated from the German by Floyd V. Wilson. London S.C.M. Press, 1953. 18s.

different, in so far as a mysterious " Beloved Disciple " competes to a certain extent with Peter for Jesus's intimacy. But the fourth gospel accepts as a fact the pre-eminence of Peter, giving him his title Rock, recording the decisive confession of faith, showing him installed as shepherd of Christ's flock. The gospel tradition is therefore solid. Peter's title cannot be explained by his character ; his impulsive enthusiasm, his personal weakness and instability do not demand the description Rock. The Why of the choice can no more be explained than the choice of Israel.

After the Ascension, Peter takes over the leadership of the primitive Church. He presides over the first little group and prompts the choice of the twelfth apostle. The first solemn and authoritative proclamation of the Christian message is made by him on Pentecost, and the Jews' questions are addressed to " Peter and the rest " (Acts 2:37). He works the first miracle, while John stands by in little more than the rôle of an extra ; he defends the Gospel against the authorities, and exercises a particularly noticeable disciplinary authority in the case of Ananias and Saphira, when, in keeping with his power to loose and bind, (Mt 16:16ff) he holds court in the name of God, publicly, before the other apostles. The same decisive word is spoken by him to Simon Magus (Acts 8.) The people look to Peter above all for miracles ; his shadow does as much, they think as the other disciples' hands. They also " do and teach ", but Peter's activities are put in a light which shows him as head of the Church. The conversion of the first mission-field, Samaria, is only complete when Peter and John lay their hands on the baptized : his confirmation affiliates the converts to the Church. Peter held together, while he was head, the dissident tendencies of Judaizers and Hellenists, and was the first missionary to the Gentiles and their champion, as the dramatic chapters 10 and 11 of Acts relate. After his miraculous escape from Herod, he " went to another place " (Acts 12:17).

This could mean Rome, for the careers of Peter and Paul are given a certain parallelism in Acts, and Paul's career, in the second part of Acts, culminates in Rome. One might ask is it not the journey of Peter to Rome that marks the climax of the first part. But we must reckon with the possibility that even the author of Acts had no definite place in mind. " This could only mean that Peter gave up his fixed residence in Jerusalem, *and so also* (our italics) his position in the Church there ", p. 38. He re-appears at the apostolic council in Jerusalem, and then, strange to say, vanishes from the narrative. As the letters of Paul are much later than the events of Acts 1-12, not many references to the primitive period are to be expected. But they rejoin Acts 15 for the apostolic council. The letter to the Galatians confirms the narrative of Acts for Peter's headship of the primitive Church. Paul, without knowing Peter personally, undertook a journey to Jerusalem solely on his account, not merely

to obtain personal reminiscences of Jesus, which could be had from other disciples, but probably because he knew of Peter's headship.

In his later life, however, Peter is the great missionary rather than the hierarchical head. " He is not the archetype of the Church official but of the missionary. The two functions, church administration and missionary work, were separated " (p. 40), and the leadership was transferred to James, while Peter was exclusively a missionary. [We may note here that we do not see any proof of the division of missionary and administrative functions in the early Church, at least on this level. St Paul, the missionary par excellence—along with St Peter, according to Dr Cullmann—certainly never relinquished for a moment his administrative authority, not even when delegating authority to Titus and Timothy. And it may be true that " Peter's gifts lay less in leadership than in missionary work", though in saying this Dr Cullmann seems to forget his earlier statement (p. 36), that Peter was the only man who could hold Judaizer and Hellenist together. Possibly then he ranged far and wide with the energy and zeal of a Francis Xavier and so remains the " archetype " of the missionary. Even so, his personal bent need have affected at most the occasions and the manner of his authority. We are inclined to think of Xavier as the catechizer and baptizer, not the administrator. But he was all the time the supreme Apostolic Delegate in the East, fully conscious of an authority which he exercised vigorously when the need arose.] The letters of Paul confirm the fact of the new activity of Peter.

In the letter to the Galatians, 2:9, Paul lists the pillars of the Church in the order " James, Cephas, John ". *Therefore* (our italics) at the time of the apostolic council, about 50 A.D., it was no longer Peter but James who was authoritative leader in Jerusalem. Paul mentions only Peter as organizer of the Jewish-Christian mission, stating that he himself had been entrusted with the mission among the gentiles, Gal 2:7. Even so, Peter was dependent upon Jerusalem. This explains why he has to fear " the party of James ", Gal 2:12, while Paul is more independent, though his gentile churches maintain a loose bond with Jerusalem by sending the alms which signified the unity of the churches with their Alma Mater. None the less the division of labour between Paul and Peter manifested a decisive Church split, whose parts maintained a complete and mutually recognized independence, which involved a central and unbridged doctrinal difference on the concept of grace. It differed from the great divisions of the Reformation only because a common work of charity expressed the common bond. If Judaeo-Christian missionaries could still interfere in Pauline churches, this was not because there was a central authority, but because their Jewish subjects lived side by side with gentile converts. Paul always resented their interference, and avoided

doing the like except when forced by need of a base in the west to come to Rome. [That schism involving heresy was accepted as the normal state of the early Church is a strange idea, which the letters of Peter, Paul and John emphatically exclude. If it were true, we should have the significant fact that the unity of the Church could not survive the abdication of Peter. But Dr Cullmann seems merely to be trying to justify the history of the Reformation by reading it back into the apostolic age].

Paul's independence of Peter is now the key to the conflict at Antioch, Gal 2, where so far from appearing as Paul's superior, *he must accept a rebuke from him* (Dr Cullmann's italics). " It may be that the Reformers, in their polemic against Rome, emphasized much too strongly the significance of the reprimand ", p. 45. And Paul did not cease to designate Simon by his title Rock, but he will not permit a Cephas party in Corinth and it may be with reference to this party that he wrote : " no one can lay another foundation except that which is laid, Jesus Christ." At the council of Jerusalem, referred to in Gal 2, Peter appears only as a missionary. James presides and formulates the decree, though Peter speaks first. He shows himself however " theologically " much closer to Paul than James, and his support of Paul contributed much to a peaceful settlement. That he later " dissembled " at Antioch fits the psychological picture of him given in the gospels—he is impulsive and unstable—and may be excused because as a subject of James he was in a painful position, since he (still ?) played the role of mediator between Jewish and Hellenistic tendencies.

Peter's later missionary work may have included Asia Minor, as the address of 1 Peter suggests ; his work is chiefly associated with Antioch, Corinth and Rome. Probably he " confirmed " the foundation at Antioch, as he had done at Samaria. The existence of a Cephas party at Corinth does not prove that he worked there, only that extremist Jewish Christians appealed to him as head of their mission [why not to James, as head of their Church and in Dr Cullmann's view, far more in sympathy with them than Peter ?]. The second-century tradition which joined Peter to Paul as co-*founder* of the Church at Corinth is manifestly false (Dr Cullmann's italics). But a stay of Peter at Corinth is possible, and indicated further by the fact that the letter to the Corinthians makes special mention of the example of Cephas, who takes his wife with him in his missionary travel, 1 Cor 9:5. Reserving the sojourn of Peter at Rome for later, Dr Cullmann claims to have now established that Peter led the primitive Church, then allowed the leadership to pass to James, after which, in dependence on Jerusalem, he led the Jewish-Christian Mission.

There follow two sections of some apologetic interest. The first traces Peter's apostolic commission to Jesus Himself, in the light of the

Resurrection apparitions. Dr Cullmann proceeds : the traditions of the gospels and of Paul (1 Cor 15) show Peter as the first to be favoured by the Risen Lord. Given the place of these visions in the apostolic preaching, this would suffice to explain the authoritative position of Peter, and the commission recorded in John 21, to " Feed my sheep ", fits the facts perfectly. [Dr Cullmann does not make it clear whether Peter was the first of the apostles because he saw the Lord first, or whether the Lord appeared to him first because he was chief. We note a tendency to confine the apostolic office to " personal attestation ", to the detriment of its jurisdiction, a tendency which mars the discussion of succession to the apostolic office in the last part of the book]. The second section shows how profound a grasp Peter had of the significance of the redemptive sacrifice of Christ, his insight coming from the " Suffering Servant Songs " of Isaias. " The great ideal which Paul later worked out in systematic form very probably occurred first to the fisherman Peter, though of course it goes back to Jesus Himself." (pp. 66ff.)

We may now assess the value of Dr Cullmann's exposition so far. His proof of the primacy from the gospels and the Acts is ably done, and prepares the ground well for the discussion of the great text of Mt 16 which is reserved for later. We might wish for a more pointed analysis of the miraculous catch of fish, Luke 5, where Peter's special call and universal role stand out so clearly, and of the payment of the Temple tax, Mt 17, where Peter's unique association with Jesus is paramount, and not merely the fact that the tax-gatherers apply to Peter. And for a satisfactory handling of the testimony of St Mark, one must still go to the fine study of the Anglican scholar C. H. Turner in *Catholic and Apostolic*. Then there is this great draw-back in Dr Cullmann's procedure of omitting Mt 16, that the other testimonies are deprived of their full force without it. Above all, when Peter's supposed resignation is discussed, it is surely a *petitio principii* to assume that we may examine the evidence except in the light of Mt 16. Take for instance the Council of Jerusalem. Dr Cullmann explains Peter's speaking first by the fact that he was the chief missionary. But if one may imagine the Council sitting in St Peter's, with the great " *Tu es Petrus* " in mighty letters round the dome, then his speech is the exercise of his power to bind and loose on earth and in heaven, while James's comment is the grateful work of a *relator* suggesting a formula for a minor disciplinary point. Apart however from the continued validity of Mt 16, we can see that Peter is not merely reporting the success of his mission, as Dr Cullmann suggests. He states clearly and definitively the doctrinal point, that " salvation is through the grace of the Lord Jesus " and not through the Law. Upon which Luke records : " All the multitude kept silence ". This is a technical term which Luke owes like so much else to the Septuagint.

It is used there of the acceptance of the authority of the rightful kin after the death of the usurper, 2 Kgs 11:20 ; of the submission of th earth to Alexander, 1 Macchabees 1:3 ; of the adoring awe which mus greet the manifestation of God Himself, Habacuc 2:20. After Peter' ruling, it signifies the acceptance of his decision as authoritative and fina It is also noteworthy that when Paul reports the findings of the Council he mentions only what Peter said, ignoring the rest of the " Apostoli Decree "—which was of course given not by James, as Dr Cullmann' wording might suggest, but by the Council.

Dr Cullmann's treatment of the conflict at Antioch also leaves much t be desired. For instance, he does not allow for the fact that many Pope, even when the papal dignity had developed to a rigidity and self consciousness which would be sheer anachronism at the time o " Galatians ", accepted humbly the admonitions of a Catharine of Siena or a Philip Neri. Is there no primacy without the full protocol of the papa court ? However, we must be grateful to Dr Cullmann for not accusing Peter of doctrinal error on the basis of the unhappy incident, where Peter was possibly less to blame for lack of *suaviter in modo* than Paul When it comes to " impulsiveness ", one recalls the " fierce dispute " which Paul had with Barnabas, Acts 15:39, on a very minor point, which led to complete rupture between the two. Then, Dr Cullmann's own thesis on the primacy of James shows up badly here. The climax of Paul's argument to the Galatians is that Peter, the decisive authority first (Gal 1:18) and last (2:14), was always really on his side against the " circumcision party ", and proclaimed it again when pressed. Surely, if, as Dr Cullmann holds, the Jewish part of the Church acknowledged James as its head, an appeal to the standard practice of Peter (2:14) and to his doctrinal decision (2:6-9) would have left them unmoved ? How could Paul have urged the authority of the subordinate Peter against Peter's superior ?

The real interest of the supposed primacy of James is the light it throws on Dr Cullmann's historical method, which does not inspire confidence. We must recall his line of argument. The starting-point is Acts 12:17 : Peter left Jerusalem. Since this *can* mean that his destination was unknown, Dr Cullmann thinks he may conclude that Peter gave up the position he had held in Jerusalem. In the light of this assumption, he then explains the happenings at the Council of Jerusalem and at Antioch in terms of Peter's dependence on James, and finding that he can fit the facts to his hypothesis, claims to have established it. With all due deference, this we must say is bad history. One may assume that the sun goes round the earth and then explain a number of facts on this hypothesis. The method establishes the hypothesis only if it explains all the facts and if there is no other explanation of the facts. In the present

case, the initial hypothesis has a very flimsy base (" Peter went elsewhere ") and the subsequent facts are not completely enumerated. Such salient items as the reverent acceptance of Peter's ruling by the Council are omitted. Others can be satisfactorily explained in terms of Peter's primacy. We must therefore maintain the position traditional in Catholic exegesis and not unknown to independent scholars, that Peter remained true to the charge which Christ gave him in such solemn and breathtaking terms.

## Peter in Rome

This being so, the next main section of the book regains a relevance which it hardly has in Dr Cullmann's reading of events. For if Peter was no longer head of the Church, his coming to Rome and dying there has little more than antiquarian interest, since the primacy must have been handed on by other channels. We return to Dr Cullmann's exposition : The Waldenses were the first to deny that Peter came to Rome, because they did not find it in the Bible. The Reformers were not very interested ; Gibbon questioned it ; the hyper-critical school of Tübingen denied it. The reaction among Protestant scholars was so vigorous and constant that Harnack could explain denial of Peter's stay in Rome only by tendentious prejudices, and Lietzmann's re-assessal of the evidence in the light of archaeology and liturgy confirmed the traditional position. It was defended recently against some intransigents by scholars as independent as Dibelius. The literary evidence begins with St Paul's epistle to the Romans. This shows us a strong body of Jewish Christians at Rome, and their presence makes a visit from Peter likely. The first epistle of Peter is written from " Babylon ", which is the typological name for Rome in the Apocalypse, as in the Jewish apocrypha of the period, e.g. Apoc. Baruch : " The deep sea will burn and Babylon itself and the land of Italy ". At the end of the century Papias explained Babylon as Rome, and no serious reason can be adduced for any other explanation. Then, Peter's martyrdom is already attested in the fourth gospel, and with the fact, the place of the martyrdom was usually handed down. The " two witnesses " (Apoc. 11:3) who died " in the great city " are probably Peter and Paul. Clement of Rome, c.90 A.D., writes to the Corinthians about " Our excellent apostles Peter and Paul, to whom were joined a multitude of the elect martyrs . . . who became a glorious example among us ". The die-hard Heussi has to treat such statements as interpolations to sustain the contrary thesis. The epistle suggests that jealousy in the Church was the occasion of the betrayal of the apostles. [The treatment of Clement is perhaps disproportionately long, but a very valuable personal contribution from Dr Cullmann.] The last of the early witnesses, Ignatius of Antioch, knows that Peter and Paul " gave commands " to the Romans, and soon after, the apocryphal " Ascension of Isaias "

gives the first explicit testimony to Nero's part in Peter's death. Hi martyrdom in Rome is therefore certain. " Were we to demand for all th facts of ancient history a greater degree of probability, we should have t strike from our history books a large proportion of their contents " (p. 114).

Dr Cullmann is unduly sceptical of the value of the second century tradition, universal and unanimous though it be. He doubts that Irenaeus Dionysius of Corinth (c. 170 A.D.), Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian and the rest have reliable historical memories behind their reports o Peter in Rome. But this is not " late " testimony. Many of us have lived with men who saw Garibaldi enter Rome in 1870 ! Irenaeus, besides having lived at Rome, had sat at the feet of the " apostolic " Polycarp, the disciple of St John. Nor will it do to belittle the testimony of Irenaeus and Dionysius because they attribute the foundation of the churches at Rome and Corinth to both Peter and Paul. Dr Cullmann, here and elsewhere, restricts founding to beginning. But he would hardly say that their tradition of Paul's stay in Rome was unreliable because Paul founded the Roman church only in a broad sense. Work on the foundations can go on long after the first sod is turned ! The Roman tradition concerning the location of the " Trophies " of the apostles is allowed great probability, but Dr Cullmann is wrong in " emphasizing " against it that " in the first century *not the slightest trace of a cult of martyr relics* " (his italics) can be found. The works of the Bollandist Delehaye on the origins of the cult of the martyrs show that the universal ancient reverence for the dead and their tombs preceded the " cult " of relics and explains the early memories of the apostles' graves. One need only recall how the body of the martyr Stephen was reverently buried (Acts 7). One might well anticipate the " theological " question here by asking how the Rome-Peter equation was so readily accepted. If not on the basis of clear history, then perhaps as a doctrine of faith ? Rome was known (Irenaeus, Cyprian) as the *ecclesia principalis*. Was the deduction inevitable—*cathedra Petri ?* To belittle the second century history might seem to reinforce Catholic theology. Dr Cullmann notes in the liturgical veneration a certain embarrassment, since the feast of St Peter was celebrated at the St Sebastian Catacomb as well as on the Vatican Hill. But to assume that the *Ad Catacumbas* celebration supposed the presence of the relics is unnecessary, and hence no discord in Roman memories need be deduced from the liturgy. It was hardly a happy thought to include here a " rarely noted " sneer from Luther about the state of knowledge in Rome in the sixteenth century.

A very fine section then relates in some detail the recent excavations under St Peter's. Dr Cullmann finds it significant that Constantine constructed his basilica on the steepest slope of the Vatican Hill, erecting walls up to forty feet high on the south and carrying away vast quantities

of soil to the north to make a level site. The extraordinary step was also taken of destroying two rows of mausoleums in a pagan cemetery. The building evidently had to be in a certain place at all costs. Traces of a monument have been found at the traditional site of the Confessio of St Peter, probably the Trophy mentioned by Gaius of Rome 200 A.D. Dr Cullmann sees no strict proof that the *grave* has been found, and recurs to the point mentioned above, that no one took an early enough interest in the relics of martyrs to make the tradition probable. We have seen that this misgiving is unfounded, so more may perhaps be concluded from the excavations than that " the execution of Peter took place in the Vatican district ".

### St Matthew 16:16-19

The second part of the book deals with the exegetical and theological import of the great text : " You are Rock, and on this Rock I will build my Church " etc. Dr Cullmann, who proposes for himself a mediating rôle between " a narrow Protestantism and Catholicism ", finds that " usually the only possible fulfilment of the saying that is even considered is the Roman Catholic one ". His own solution is to uphold the genuinity of the saying and its primatial meaning but to disallow any persistence or succession with regard to Peter's place. This is not very new, except that Dr Cullmann recognizes loyally that the apostle must have a " fundamental " importance for the Church of all times, and seeks to assign such a perpetual effectiveness to Peter without recourse to a primacy in the Church. He begins with a glance at ancient interpretations of the saying, too fleeting (three pages) and partial to detain us here. His real interest is in the views of the modern critical and independent scholars, who for some seventy-five years have been dismissing the Reformers' interpretation as impossible, and forming a chorus of approbation for the Catholic. They reject the genuinity of the text because it envisaged a perennial hierarchical Church which they held to be utterly foreign to the mind of Jesus. These critics included the greatest names of modern scholarship, from J. Weiss, Harnack and H. J. Holtzmann to Dibelius and Bultmann, men too little attached to Protestantism to seek to water down the meaning of the text, too sceptical of the supernatural to allow Jesus the power or prevision required to found a Church and institute a vicar on earth. " Neo-orthodox " Protestant scholars, in reaction against the disintegrating results of an unbridled criticism, found themselves in a situation of no little difficulty. If they upheld the fact that Jesus spoke the words, the *consensus theologorum* demanded that they give it the Catholic sense. If they denied the genuinity, they must do so on principles which would ultimately destroy the whole gospel tradition. Dr Cullmann seeks a way out which in denying that there can be any real succession to the apostolic office—not merely to Peter—puts him in

opposition to the Orthodox Churches and to the Anglican-Episcopalian ; and in attributing a real primacy to Peter, separates him from the Protestant churches in general as known to history. More, by affirming that *any* mere man could rule as Christ's vicar on earth, he seems to undermine the central Protestant principle, valid always or never, that no human authority could ever speak for Christ. His position then is courageous and interesting : we shall in reviewing it prescind from the recurrence of the theory of Peter's being displaced by James. The courteous and scholarly reviewer of the *Revue Biblique* restricted himself, when Dr. Cullmann invoked here the rather disreputable and very late Pseudo-Clementine writings, to the raised eye-brows of an exclamation mark.

Dr Cullmann begins by examining the narrative framework of Mt 16:16ff and finds that the text is not in its original setting, for which he favours the eve of the Passion where Luke's Primacy Text (22:31) occurs. The point is not essential, but neither is it solidly made. We take one point only, which depends less on subjective considerations than the others. The parallel in Mark gives the opening question as " Who do men say that *I* am ? ", which Dr Cullmann says is certainly more original than Matthew's " Who do men say that *the Son of Man* is ?" Nothing could be less certain, because the Church deliberately avoided using this rather difficult title, which practically never occurs except on the lips of Jesus Himself. It is therefore contrary to the known laws of criticism to suggest that the evangelist should have changed the Marcan form to the Matthaean. We should therefore consider Matthew as the original, and it is a pity that Dr Cullmann should deprive himself of this guiding line. But he reproduces well the linguistic arguments which show that this text is racy of the Palestinian soil, and therefore known at a time when the original witnesses could guarantee it. That Jesus *could* have spoken of an *ecclesia* he finds proved in the use of the term in Judaism, where it designates the people of God, particularly when envisaged as the loyal " remnant " of an unfaithful whole. The recent discoveries of sectarian documents in the Dead Sea caves confirm this. That Jesus *must* have spoken of an *ecclesia* is proved from the Messianic claim of Jesus, since the Messianic expectation is inconceivable without the concept of a Messianic community or kingdom. The " kingdom of the saints " is likewise an integral part of the concept of the " Son of Man ", Jesus's " own " title, and the building of the community is in keeping with the notion of Israel as a " House " or as the spiritual temple of God, so common in the New Testament. Though the Kingdom of God in Jesus's teaching is essentially eschatological (of the future and final state of things), this does not prevent its being already " come ", though imperfectly and by anticipation, in His person and work. And that He expected an intermediate period between His death and resurrection and His return, can be

shown from His preparation of the gentile mission and the institution of the Eucharist as the memorial of His death and reminder of His second coming. However, " Jesus scarcely reckons with a duration of milleniums but he does assume that there will be a rather brief period of time between his resurrection and return " (p. 201). [One asks oneself would Dr Cullmann have denied successors to Peter if he had a different view of Jesus's foreknowledge. It would seem that the Catholic mistake about the perennial primacy goes back ultimately to a mistake of Jesus !]

The detailed exegesis of the text is not the best part of Dr Cullmann's work. The promise that the gates of hell will not prevail is said to assure (ultimate ?—but this is not in the text) victory over physical death, rather than impregnability under the assaults of sin and damnation. The influence of Harnack is visible here, though he re-wrote the text to get a personal object (Peter) instead of the collective and impersonal Church, for which the notion of surviving death is out of place. It is certainly far-fetched to explain "the gates of hell will not prevail against the Church" as : good Christians will rise on the last day. Dr Cullmann also ignores here the solidarity of the notions death-sin-demon in the New Testament, the forces hostile to the Kingdom of God. In as near a context as Mt 23, the " sons of gehenna " are wicked, false teachers. The giving of the keys to Peter installs him as administrator of the house of God, as ample examples from the Old and New Testaments show. But having said this, Dr Cullmann proceeds to reduce Peter's functions practically to those of porter : he wields the keys by preaching (p. 204). This eliminates from the metaphor the jurisdiction which is its point. When Apoc. 3:7 says that Christ has the keys of David, it means more than the mission of preaching. It is the power of passing judgement : to " bind and to loose " means " prohibit or permit ", and also " excommunicate or lift the ban ". Dr Cullmann sees here rightly that Christ gives Peter a share in his power to teach authoritatively and forgive sins. He thinks that the binding may also refer to the power over demons—whose association with the death-sin couple he should not have ignored in the first metaphor. It will be noticed that the precise significance of the Rock metaphor has not been brought out. Catholics are not alone in seeing that it makes Peter the principle of permanence, stability and unity in the structure—Similar powers of binding and loosing are given to the other disciples (Mt 18:18, John 20:23). But Peter is first, and possesses these powers in a special way. Dr Cullmann does not perhaps emphasize enough his sole possession of the keys and his unique position as principle of permanence and unity (Rock). To say that he acts as representative of the other apostles does not meet the case. But Peter is indeed the Rock " The solution of the Reformers, that the rock is only the faith of Peter, does not satisfy . . . The parallelism, ' You are rock, and upon this rock I will

build ' shows that the second rock refers to nothing different from the first one. The Roman Catholic exegesis must be regarded as correct." (p. 207)

At this point Dr Cullmann turns on the Catholics. They see in the Promise to Peter the institution of an office which will last as long as the Church, since it is the Rock which, under Christ and by his power, keeps the Church stable and one. Dr Cullmann sees in the promise only a personal favour to Peter, though that part which speaks of the power of binding and loosing is always valid, in the sense that " church leadership must continue to exist " (p. 210). But not the apostolic office, of the Twelve any more than of Peter. He recognizes that the Acts [he might have mentioned also the Pastoral Epistles at least] show us the apostles installing " church officers ". But they did not install any " apostles " as successors, but rather " bishops and elders ". These are " only watchmen who are to see to it that further building is really done on the foundation of the apostles." One may see here merely a piece of word-play : the apostles not bishops, bishops not apostles ; one may question the distinction, in the New Testament, between following and succeeding to the apostles. One may ask how precisely the watchmen are to see to it that further building is orthodox, when they do not receive, as they " follow " the apostles, the apostolic power to bind and loose authoritatively. The point is that Dr Cullmann denies that any function like that of the Apostles can continue in the Church. There may be leaders, distinguished for learning or force of character or zeal or holiness, or there just because their private devotion led them to offer Scripture commentary to the people. But there is no real authority to speak and act in the name of Christ as Peter once did.

This is because the foundation can be laid only once, and Peter's function is therefore unique and limited to the initial stages of the Church. Hence he affirms that the Petrine text positively excludes successors. This seems to be a confusion, which occurs here not for the first time in the book, of foundation with beginning, as if Peter was Rock because he gave the Church a good start, or as if he was the temporary scaffolding (as P. Dejaifue notes) rather than the bed-rock. The rôle of Peter as the first great missioner cannot of course be passed on to his successors. But that does not exhaust his functions, as Dr Cullmann's argument supposes. It is not the meaning of the title Rock, or of the power of the keys, or the doctrinal and executive jurisdiction contained in the power to bind and loose. These can be passed on, and must be, if the Church is to persist as Christ left it. [Dr Cullmann dismisses this line of thought as " Hellenist ".] He makes much of the fact that only the apostles were eye-witnesses of the resurrection and directly called by Christ. So much of the apostolic office is intransmissible, in a very limited sense. But not the God-given and God-guided authority, and there are ample grounds in the New Testament for the principle of succession in this sense, so that its implicit presence

in the Petrine text is sufficient. The Rock will exercise its functions as long as the Church, which it preserves from ruin. It is perhaps significant that nowhere in Dr Cullmann's book do we find the text " Behold I am with you all days, even to the end of the world ", which occurs in a passage dealing with the apostolic commission in a way parallel to the Petrine text.

But further " theological " considerations would be out of place here, and Dr Cullmann's notions of the Church, of Church unity, of Christ's foreknowledge, offer little common ground. How can one argue that the foundation-rock was meant by Christ to be the perpetual principle of unity and stability, when Dr Cullmann denies that Christ foresaw a lengthy duration for the Church, and when he thinks that unity need be sought neither in the faith professed, the moral laws upheld, the sacred mysteries celebrated, the authority obeyed by " the Church "? Without developing the point, we may say that his notion of the Church could be called " docetic ". Dr Cullmann obviously understands by the Church something quite different from the meaning Christ had in mind in the Petrine text. Catholics may be content to recognize that they have the Church, in constitution as in faith and sacraments, as Christ left it and decreed it : with a hierarchical head. If a radical breach in its constitution occurred, this must be proved historically, not just affirmed : and certainly the Church itself was quite unconscious of any such change in its nature. We shall confine ourselves to two points more, one purely historical, the other more theological but suggested by Dr Cullman himself.

The primacy texts are in the Greek Matthew, in Luke and in John. They were therefore relevant to the actual life of the Church from about 70-100 A.D. For it is a generally accepted principle that only such elements were retained in tradition, and above all, crystallized in the gospels, as reflected the vital pre-occupations and interests of the Church at the time of their transmission. The radical critics would say, at the time of their invention. So on any showing, the *Sitz im Leben*, the concrete historical situation which demanded these texts, can only be the persistence of the Petrine primacy, the actual experience in the Church of their immediate influence. The record was not made for merely narrative or antiquarian interests, but for the direction of the life of the Church. Dr Cullmann admits as much for the " sacramental " texts. If therefore as late as John's gospel, Peter's primacy was relevant, it was still a determining factor of Church life at the end of the first century. The texts echo the actual situation of the Church and are historical witnesses to the continued exercise of the Petrine primacy. We put this argument all the more confidently forward, since it was first urged by the independent students of " form-criticism ". The texts are there because they answered real questions and needs.

The second point is that Dr Cullmann loyally recognizes that the foundation-rock must somehow persist in its functions, not merely virtually

but actively. "How can every generation understand that Peter is 'actually' Peter, Rock?" (p. 221) The foundation, he says, understood chronologically, continues to play this rôle for the Church of all time. This may seem hard to reconcile with his earlier polemic, but it is his answer which interests us now. He says that this is only possible if the historically unique effect of the person and work of the apostle(s) persists. A Catholic will hardly put it better, and we know how the Church, say of the great councils, understood the continued effectiveness of Peter : "*Petrus per Leonem locutus est!*" "*Petrus per Agathonem locutus est!*" Dr Cullmann's answer is that Peter *acts* through the apostolic scriptures. "It is not confessional prejudice but the primitive apostolic concept that leads me to affirm this," p 221. This, I must confess, struck me as comic when I first read it, and I regret that further reflection has not enabled me to take it more seriously. There might be something in Dr Cullmann's explanation of how the primacy persists, if the primacy had consisted of teaching, and had not included the exercise of the supreme authority, of giving decisions that bound in heaven and on earth. Or again, there might be something in it if Peter had "inspired" the whole New Testament and still effectively guided the reader to the true sense. But not even Catholic reverence for St. Peter will allow us to affirm, "Peter has spoken through Paul, through Luke, through John". It is simply not true to say that the Christian who reads the Bible is obeying Peter. And surely to make the Petrine text mean read the New Testament, is to substitute for the person of Peter his faith, in other words, to return to the Protestant position which Dr Cullmann rejects as untenable.

Dr Cullmann will not allow Catholics to appeal to tradition and history : ironically enough, when they have been so often accused of denouncing the appeal to history as treason ! This is because he will not allow the life of the Church which selected and preserved these texts because of their vital import, to be their best commentary, since he will not allow that that life is guided by the Holy Spirit. None the less, the Spirit was promised repeatedly and emphatically by Christ as His other self and the Spirit of truth. Hence the Church can no more err in the second century than when Christ was on earth, because if the promises mean anything, they mean that He is closer to His Church, more powerful and effective, than when He was subject to the limits of space and time in Palestine. "*Tunc per carnem homo, nunc per omnia Deus*". Therefore Irenaeus could write : "Where the Church is, there is the Spirit of God, and where the Spirit of God is, there is the Church and all grace : for the Spirit is truth." We mention this in conclusion to indicate the ending of Dr Cullmann's work, and to register the sad fact that Dr Cullmann's concept of the Church and Christ's intentions for it are so remote from our own and that of antiquity, as far as it can be traced.

KEVIN SMYTH, S.J.

# Germany in Retrospect

## 20 JULY 1944

*by* JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

LITTLE more than ten years ago, the world at war was startled by the news of an attempt upon the life of Adolf Hitler. This had taken place in the very heart of German military headquarters on the Eastern front, and the man immediately responsible for the attempt was no Communist nor Western Allied agent but a German officer with a distinguished record of service, Claus Graf Schenck von Stauffenberg. Stauffenberg was a war hero who had more than once been severely wounded and had lost an eye, the whole of his right hand and two fingers of the left. He was a member of that class in Germany which Allied propaganda viewed with the gravest mistrust, that of the senior military officer. The attempt failed and Hitler escaped with slight damage. Its aftermath was a series of savage reprisals, to which a large number of Field Marshals and generals, the director of the military information and security serrices, and high ministers and officials fell victims. Included among these prisoners and scapegoats were men with names as famous in nineteenth-century Prussian history as Bismarck and Moltke.

Since 1945 much fuller information has been made available, both about this attempt of July, 1944, and various other projects hatched and in part implemented by members of a German opposition. Indeed, this more ample information has suggested various important questions. Could the Hitler regime, for instance, have been overthrown by internal opposition in the autumn of 1938, had there been no Munich agreement between the dictators and the governments of Britain and France? Was there in fact a genuine and effective resistance movement to Hitler in Germany throughout the war? What chances were there—or, if that be too definite an hypothesis—what chances might there conceivably have been that the war could have been brought to an end prior to 1945 with a negotiated instead of the unconditional surrender of Germany? And, had that been possible, to what extent could the present condition of post-war Europe have been avoided?

To questions of this kind no definite answer can be given. They are matters only of speculation ; they belong to the realm of the ' might-have-been ', an interesting but perhaps not very fruitful field of history. They do, however, suggest one preliminary remark. Whatever judgment be

passed upon the character and value of the German opposition to the Nazi regime during the war, its main centre has to be sought in conservative circles. The thesis that the second world war, like the first, was instigated largely by the German General Staff for the domination of the Continent is not borne out by the facts. Nor does evidence support the belief that the people of Germany, on the whole, welcomed or wanted the war. This does not of course do away with the responsibility either of the General Staff or of the people. It was Germans who began and wanted war ; Germans who continually widened its area and scope ; Germans who introduced methods of savagery and obscenity which have brought lasting shame on the people of Germany. However arbitrary and absolute a government, no people can escape condemnation for crimes committed in its name and by the hands of its own citizens. And in this matter, the General Staff stands exposed to the most severe criticism. If it be not true that they were the principal agents in bringing war about, they had nevertheless the solemn duty of preventing it, since they alone had the effective power to do so. There was considerable opposition among the ranks of German senior officers, but it was dilatory and spasmodic. They continually shifted responsibility from one to another, and from themselves as a class to others, including even the Western Powers. They rarely had the moral courage to face the implications of their convictions. Hitler outmanoeuvred them all the time, and even those who at heart remained enemies of the regime were lulled into a surly acquiescence, not least on account of Hitler's seeming triumphs in the teeth of their own professional forebodings.

Since 1945, a large number of books have appeared in Germany, written by former diplomats, soldiers and senior officials, and they deal with Germany under the Nazi government and in particular during the years of war. Such books, at first hearing, may appear suspect ; they are, in many cases, *apologias* for the authors, and it might seem surprising how many of them now claim to have disapproved of and even fought against the regime. The anti-Hitler movement embraced a large number of individuals and widely differing groups. Indeed, it is astonishing that it was not detected earlier and ruthlessly dealt with. One explanation of this is that certain Nazi leaders knew of the movement, and thought that it might serve their own purposes. Himmler, in particular, was privy to it and had, it is hinted, the intention of supplanting Hitler or, should Hitler be removed by the opposition, of taking his place, relying upon his own forces of the S.S. Goering's name was also mentioned, and at one period some opposition sections toyed with the idea of substituting Goering for Hitler.

Among these post-war publications I should like to select a number for commentary.

Dr. Hjalmar Schacht, former President of the Reichsbank, has contributed two of them : *Abrechnung mit Hitler* and later a lengthy autobiography, *76 Jahre meines Lebens.*[1]

Schacht is certainly a person of firm and definite character. He rose to national prominence from modest beginnings, and, as a relatively young man, was instrumental in stabilizing the German currency after the debacle of the early and middle twenties. He was a man of clear vision and expert knowledge of economics and finance and was placed in a position of great responsibility because of his undoubted gifts. Never a politician, though he played some part in founding the German *Demokratische Partei,* he approved of the original invitation to the Nazis to join a coalition government on the grounds that in any system that claimed to be democratic the party with the majority of seats and votes could not be permanently excluded from power. His financial policy made possible German rearmament, but only—he argued convincingly—to provide for German defence after the Disarmament conference had strikingly failed. His defence of himself both at the Nuremberg tribunal and in his autobiography stands effective. There is no special pleading in it and no emotional appeal. In personal contact with opposition leaders though it is not quite clear how far he was committed to any actual plot, he was arrested after July, 1944, and escaped death at the Nazis' hands only through the advent of the Allied troops.

Karl Heinz Abshagen's biography of Admiral Canaris, director of the *Abwehr,* the information and security services for the *Wehrmacht,* introduces one of the most intriguing figures in the German war-time background.[2]

Canaris was a naval officer who had fought in 1914 at the battles of Coronel and the Falkland islands, had escaped from internment in the Chilean island of Quiriquina and made his way back to Spain, where he engaged in espionage, and thence to Germany, and was subsequently commander of a submarine. Much travelled and playfully affecting at times a Greek origin, for which there was no other justification than his not very German family name, and also an expert linguist, he was put in charge of the *Abwehr* or security service for the German forces, when this was reconstructed in 1935. His biographer, Herr Abshagen, and others who have written of him are fascinated by his many-sided personality. Loyal to friends and subordinates, he did all he could to shield them from the suspicions and interference of Himmler's S.S. All the time he was aware of the anti-Hitler activity that went on inside the *Abwehr* : he did nothing to check it but did not take an active part,

[1] The second of these, a volume of 700 pages, was published by the Kindler und Schiermeyer Verlag, Bad Wörishofen in 1953.

[2] *Canaris* : *Patriot und Weltbürger.* Published by the Union Deutsche Verlagsgesellschaft, Stuttgart, in 1949.

though his sympathies were with the opposition. He was too subtle i mind and disposition to have been an effective leader, and the pictu built at the Nuremberg trials of Canaris as the arch-plotter at the centi of opposition was somewhat unreal. As the war progressed, he becam more and more elusive and wove a network of project and counte project around *Abwehr* activities, so as to bemuse and dazzle his enemi in Himmler's organizations. He steered a highly difficult and dangerou course between a Scylla of loyalty to the *Reichswehr,* for which he provide a first-rate information service, and a Charybdis of resistance to man even of Hitler's direct orders. He became an adept in dissimulation just as concerned with sabotaging the more savage and barbarou suggestions of Hitler, e.g. for the murder of General Weygand, as wit counteracting enemy espionage. Throughout, he judged the militar and political situation with clear-headed realism, and he was convince from the beginning of Germany's ultimate defeat. Not that he wishe for this, but he considered that a Hitler victory would have been th most terrible of tragedies. After the July attempt Canaris was arrested though he had played no part in it, and was later executed. Weizsäcker Under-secretary at the German Foreign Office, has left the followin tribute to his friend, Canaris :

> We cannot pass over this extraordinary person without a word o commentary. He was one of the most interesting figures of the period— one that a dictatorial regime may bring to light and full development even in a land such as Germany, in which cunning and rare innocenc are not frequently found together. Cunning as serpents and simple an innocent as doves—with us in Germany that is indeed an unusual combin ation. Canaris as a young naval officer was rich in a spirit of enterpris and adventure. He had commanded his submarine with distinction. H was an expert in foreign languages ; he had friends everywhere. Whethe he had Greek blood or not, I do not know but he had the reputation o being a most ingenious Ulysses. This at least Hitler must have realised o he would never have entrusted the military information services to a naval man. But into the mind and heart of Canaris Hitler had never beer able to penetrate. Even the Gestapo for years did not understand him Canaris had the gift of getting men to talk to him without ever giving himself away. His sea-blue eyes did not allow you to reach into the depth of his mind. Only very seldom and then through a tiny chink could you see into his character clear and firm as a bell, only very occasionally could you sense the profoundly moral and at the same time tragic quality o his person.[1]

A book of a very different kind is that of Hans Bernd Gisevius, once a member of the Gestapo, then of the *Abwehr* and one of the conspirators

[1] cf. *Geist der Freiheit.* By Eberhard Zeller. Verlag Hermann Rinn, Munich. 1952 Pp. 26–7.

against the regime.[1] It is a fascinating book, with vivid descriptions of life in Germany and acute judgments upon the German situation. Other writers have questioned the accuracy of some of Gisevius's statements but in the main his account of the opposition activities is reliable. His verdict upon the hopelessness of his opposition colleagues deserves quotation :

> The same was true—he states—of the Germans in opposition. Once caught in the circle, they were unable to find their way out. Again and again they entangled themselves in their own arguments. One time they clung to the ' lesser evil ' ; then they wanted ' to avert something worse ' ; then they waited for ' the proper time '. Or else—so they imagined—the ' others ' were not willing to act ; or—so they alleged—they could do nothing. Sometimes they were loath to break their own oath of allegiance, or they feared the stigma of having dealt ' a stab in the back '. Finally, when they had run out of reasons and could no longer evade the issue, they groaned that it was now too late ; that in the meantime we had all become ' collectively ' guilty and there was nothing left for us Germans but to win the war or be ruined.[2]

The Hassell diaries, written by the ex-Ambassador to Italy, also arrested and executed after the July attempt, are of another calibre : personal reflections of a diplomat of the old school, honourable and Christian in mind.[3]

A more recent publication is *Das Spiel um Deutschland,* by Fritz Hesse.[4] From 1935 till 1939 he was an official German Press representative in London and from 1939 till 1945 he was a *Legationsrat* and specialist in British questions at German headquarters. He worked in fairly close contact with Herr von Ribbentrop and his judgment of Ribbentrop is milder and more sympathetic than that of the majority of post-war writers. In his assessment of the British situation before the war he betrays a considerable naiveté ; he is inclined to lay a large measure of blame upon a supposed anti-German group in London and to exaggerate the tension and strain in pre-war England. He agrees, however, that Hitler's conduct and his continual changes of attitude made the British attitude an inevitable one. With certain reservations, his book is a valuable commentary upon the pre-war and war years.

Finally, one further work calls for mention. This is a study by Eberhard Zeller on the various groups in the opposition movement.[5]

[1] In an English version, *To the Bitter End,* published by Jonathan Cape, 1948.

[2] op. cit. Pp. 269 sqq.

[3] *Vom Andern Deutschland.* By Ulrich von Hassell. Atlantis Verlag, Zürich. 1947.

[4] Published by the Paul List Verlag, Munich. 1953.

[5] *Geist der Freiheit,* already mentioned. Among other books of similar nature may be noticed : *Wahn und Wirklichkeit* and *Nicht aus den Akten,* by Erich Kordt, for seven years secretary to Ribbentrop ; also *Statist auf diplomatischer Bühne,* by Paul Schmidt, official interpreter for the German Foreign Office, who attended many international meetings of individuals as well as conferences.

## The German Army

The advent to power in 1933 of Hitler's government brought several obvious advantages to the German army. Henceforth, a larger military budget was secured and the army would rapidly grow. However, there were some disadvantages. The introduction of conscription flooded barracks and camps with a host of new recruits with whom the officers and non-commissioned officers of the von Seeckt army of the twenties were quite unable to cope. The *esprit de corps* that had been a feature of the small force permitted by the Versailles treaty was lost in a vast citizen recruitment. Large numbers of the recruits were enthusiastic Nazis, and one of the reasons which held back senior officers from later action against the government was the uncertainty whether junior officers and the men would support them.

For the time being, army prospects were most promising, though it was ominous that Hitler altered the military oath which officers and men had to take, so that their loyalty was now centred personally in himself. The senior officers, on the whole, thought little of the new government and no doubt imagined that they could influence and control it, entirely misreading the character of the new Chancellor. They also disliked and resented the existence of other armed groups within the Nazi party, and Hitler's liquidation of Roehm and the leaders of the S.A. no doubt seemed to the military men to eliminate unpleasant rivals.

From the military standpoint it is reasonably clear that the General Staff were not in favour of military adventures. Its chief was General Ludwig Beck, a man of high character as well as great professional competence. Beck issued several warnings against too active a foreign policy, from his professional point of view. In May, 1934, he deprecated too rapid an extension of the armed forces lest this should provoke counteraction from the French. Two months later, he wrote that Germany's international position was hopeless, that everything had been endangered by Nazi activity in Austria, and that all the Powers of importance were against Germany. In May, 1937, when the staff had been ordered to prepare offensive plans for a sudden attack in the South East, he again protested that Germany, so far as her army was concerned, was not in a position to run the risk of a war in Central Europe, and that German material resources were ' altogether inadequate ' for making war, ' either now or in the near future '. In May of the year following, in a memorandum to General Brauchitsch, Beck once more argued that the French army was still the strongest in Europe. And two months subsequently, when the Sudeten crisis was being inflamed, he presented a further memorandum :

> On the basis of the above data I now feel in duty bound to ask insistently that the Supreme Commander of the *Wehrmacht* (Hitler) should

> be made to stop the preparations he has ordered for war, and to postpone his intention of solving the Czech problem by force till the military situation is basically changed. For the present I consider it hopeless, and this view is shared by all my Quarters-General and departmental chiefs of the General Staff who would have to deal with the preparation and execution of a war against Czechoslovakia.[1]

That was a professional judgment, as late as the summer of 1938, on Germany's unreadiness for war and therefore on the unwillingness of the General Staff to undertake such a military responsibility.

In the meantime there had occurred the Blomberg-Fritsch scandal which was used as an occasion for more complete Nazi control over the armed forces. General Blomberg, the War Minister, had contracted an unfortunate and, for a man in his position, a scandalous marriage which would have meant his retirement even in pre-Nazi days. General von Fritsch, commander-in-chief, was victim of one of the meanest and filthiest possible intrigues, almost certainly directed by Himmler and Goering. He was eventually exonerated by a military tribunal but the mud had stuck, as it was intended it should. Fritsch was replaced by General Brauchitsch, a more compliant character. Hitler took over the post of War Minister.

It was to Brauchitsch, in his new capacity, that Beck addressed a protest of quite a different sort on 16 July 1938. The protest raised the significant question of a senior officer's moral responsibility in the event of an unwarranted war. I give the decisive paragraph in full :

> It is a question of the most fundamental decisions that concern the nation's welfare. History will lay the guilt of blood upon its leaders, if you do not act now in accordance with your professional and political knowledge and conscience. *Your obedience as soldiers has eventually its limits, namely there where your knowledge, your conscience and your sense of responsibility forbid the carrying out of a command.* Should your advice and warnings in such conditions find no response, then you have both the right and the obligation, before the people and before the judgment of history, to resign from your offices. If you act together with a determined purpose, the pursuit of a policy of war would be made impossible. You would then have saved your country from the worst consequences of all, its defeat. It shows a great want of character and of consciousness of duty, when in times like these a soldier in the highest possible position views his responsibilities only within the narrow framework of his military competence, without making himself aware of the very high responsibility which he bears before his own people as a whole. Exceptional times like these call for conduct that is exceptional.[2]

[1] c.f. Sir Lewis Namier, *In the Nazi Era,* 1952. Pp. 28–30, in comments on books by Friedrich Hossbach and Wolfgang Foerster.

[2] *Geist der Freiheit,* p. 9. The original text of the sentence above italicised is as follows : *Ihr soldatischer Gehorsam hat dort eine Grenze, wo Ihr Wissen, Ihr Gewissen und Ihre Verantwortung die Ausführung eines Befehls verbietet.*

When no action was taken after this protest, Beck resigned his post as chief of the General Staff. But the effect of this resignation was smothered by a Nazi policy of silence ; it was not made public, and then in a most casual manner, until after the Czech crisis had been temporarily settled at Munich. Beck remained one of the central personages in the military opposition, and committed suicide after the failure of the July plot.[1]

How is it possible, you may well enquire, that these professional verdicts came so to be belied in the event in 1939 and 1940 ? Beck, the best military brain in Germany, considered in 1938 that the German forces were not strong enough to fight the Czechs. But a year later, they swept through Poland in devastating campaigns. He rated the French army as the finest in Europe. Yet the Germans held their Western frontiers with slight forces during the Polish war and then overwhelmed France. Canaris, usually so accurate in his estimates, thought that the German attack upon Norway was a wild adventure which would receive severe punishment from the British Navy. In all these cases the expert forecasts were quite wrong, at least when seen from a short-term point of view. Hitler, the adventurer and gambler, acting in defiance of professional advice, proved right. This had the effect in the long run of investing him with an aura of invincibility and of further diminishing the influence and power of the General Staff. General Jodl, one of the military Yes-men whom Hitler attached to himself, declared at Nuremberg that Hitler would listen to no advice and that it was impossible to discuss or argue with him. Nor were the generals able to inform him of what was really happening at the front. Life in Hitler's headquarters, he stated, was a pure martyrdom : it was not a military headquarters but a civilian office, in which soldiers were tolerated as guests, for the most part as unwelcome guests.

## Stages in Opposition

The controversy over the Munich agreement has never been satisfactorily settled and maybe never will. Its opponents insist that the agreement, coming on top of the West's acceptance of a remilitarized Rhineland and the *fait accompli* of Austrian annexation, convinced

[1]On Beck, Gisevius writes thus : " One man understood this (namely the real situation and the real aims of the inner circle of the Nazis) : General Ludwig Beck, the chief of the German General Staff, and therefore he voluntarily resigned his post. This decision should have been a warning signal to all the others, for Beck was by general agreement considered the supreme intellect among the generals. He was a man of great ability who had risen to his high position by virtue of his indubitable excellence. To the members of the general staff he represented the true heir to the traditions of Moltke and Schlieffen. He set extremely high standards for his subordinates. He looked upon the general staff, not as an élite corps of military technicians, but as the conscience of the army. Consequently, every thinking officer could not help reflecting upon the significance of the step when such a man as Beck resigned at so critical a juncture." (op. cit. p. 279).

Hitler that he could make further demands, when it should suit him, and only whetted his appetite for even wider aggression. It would have been better—they urge—and far more honourable to have fought against Germany with Czechoslovakia, which occupied a strategic military position, and for a cause to which France at least was committed by treaty obligation. Some of these critics believe that Russia was genuine in her offers of military aid to Czechoslovakia. Those who defend the settlement point out that the German complaints against Czechoslovakia were not without foundation and that in any case one last supreme effort had to be made to preserve peace. Hitler was given this final opportunity of showing that other countries could live with him.

Several of these post-war authors have stated that the Munich agreement frustrated a planned German coup against the Nazi government. They claim also that information on this matter was passed to Lord Halifax and other prominent Allied personalities. All that was required, they argue, was a stiff attitude on the part of France and Britain and, in the event of war, they could and would have taken the initiative. Their plan, if one can trust Gisevius, would have been to stage a military action on the grounds that they were anticipating a *putsch* by Himmler and his S.S. of whom and which the majority of the German people would have believed any villainy. The official pretext would be that the army had to protect the person of the commander-in-chief (Hitler) and they would in addition have welcomed the opportunity of settling old scores with the S.S. How much credence is to be given to this is in grave dispute but there is evidence of plotting, and Halder, the new Chief of Staff, and General von Witzleben, a victim after July, 1944, were concerned with it. Witzleben then commanded the troops in Berlin and was apparently ready to occupy the Reich chancellery with the Potsdam garrison. Halder, according to Gisevius, was slow to move and hesitated to sanction any direct army action for fear of giving rise to another ' stab in the back ' legend. His own suggestion was that, in the event of war, Hitler should be removed through a bomb attack.[1]

Among other military men who opposed the German war plans in 1939 and afterwards played their part in the opposition, were General Thomas, chief of the *Wehrwirtschaftsamt,* who on more than one occasion exposed to General Keitel Germany's military and economic position, warning Keitel that an attack on Poland would mean a world war, which

[1]Some notion of the curious relations between the principal men in Germany may be glimpsed from Gisevius's account of a conversation he had at this time with Halder. " Knowing," he writes, " the oath-complex of the generals as I did, I had deliberately left it an open question whether the dictator actually wanted war or was being carried along by the current, but Halder would not agree to this. He held that ' this madman ', ' this criminal ', was consciously steering Germany into war, possibly because of his ' sexually pathological constitution ', which created in him the desire to see blood flow. ' A blood sucker '—this was the term the chief of staff used to describe the chief of State". (*op. cit.* Pp. 289–90).

Germany would certainly lose ; General von Stülpnagel, afterward commander of the German forces of occupation in France ; Genera von Leeb ; General Erich Hoeppner ; General Wagner ; and late General Rommel.

With these may be linked Colonel Hans Oster, a member of Canaris' *Abwehr,* one of the most active of the opposition intermediaries ; Han von Dohnanyi, closely linked with Oster ; Justus Delbrück, again in contact with Oster.

Prominent among civilian figures in this general movement was Karl Friedrich Goerdeler, who at one time had been *Oberbürgermeister* o Leipzig, a post which he gave up in 1937. He was a man of tireless energy and continually changing projects. But so important did the Nazis consider him as an opponent that at one period a reward of a million marks was offered for his capture. He travelled far and wide in the interests of the conspirators, and his code name was *Wanderprediger* or itinerant preacher. Johannes Popitz was another of the civilians of prominence. He had been Finance Minister in the Prussian government but resigned because of the Nazi racial laws against Jews. Both were executed after July, 1944.

Although most of the members of these groups could be termed more or less conservative, there were a number of men associated with them, from the ranks of Social Democracy. Of these Wilhelm Leuschner is important. A carpenter by trade, he had been for a long time a public official in Darmstadt and subsequently Minister of the Interior in the Hesse local administration. Arrested and imprisoned before the war, he settled in Berlin where he managed a small factory, which in its turn was made a centre for anti-Nazi activity. Until 1939 Leuschner had thought it might be possible to organize a rising against the Hitler government from below, but with the war he realized that the regime could be upset only through army action. He was in contact at first with General von Hammerstein and, during the war, with Canaris and Oster. Theodor Haubach was another associate who came from the ranks of the Socialists. A journalist, he worked in Hamburg in the Institute for Foreign Affairs and was foreign editor of the *Hamburger Echo.* In 1933 he became Press officer of the head office of the Berlin police and even prior to 1939 suffered lengthy imprisonment. Selections from his letters have been published and they reveal a man of wide and independent outlook. He was finally arrested before the July attempt in 1944 and executed afterwards. Other names of Left-wing associates are those of Carlo Mierendorff, a turbulent and gifted character, who was imprisoned for four years after the Nazi advent to power and during the war lived as a manual labourer. In contact with some of these members of the opposition, he was killed in 1943 during an Allied air raid on Leipzig : Adolf Reichwein, a much

travelled naturalist and explorer who, despite his political background, was summoned in 1939 to Berlin to rearrange the Museum for local history and culture : Ernst von Harnack, son of the famous professor and church historian ; and Julius Leber, at one time a member of the Reichstag and after four years of imprisonment from 1933 to 1937 a coal merchant in Berlin ; despite his Socialist convictions, he belonged to the school that insisted that the Eastern front against the Russians must be defended at all cost, while pourparlers should be instituted with the Western Powers.

There was a small group that has come to be known as the Kreisauer circle from the name of the estate of Helmuth James von Moltke, where they were in the habit of meeting for discussion. The second name 'James' recalls the fact that Moltke had an English mother, and he was a great nephew of the Prussian chief of Staff during the Austrian and French wars in the eighteen sixties and seventies. Moltke was an eminent lawyer for international cases and causes and was also a judge. During the war he worked as an adviser with the armed forces and interested himself in cases of ill treatment of war prisoners. Arrested in January, 1944, he died in prison a year subsequently. With him was closely linked Graf Peter Yorck von Wartenburg, bearer of another honoured German title, whose grandfather's name is not unfamiliar to the student of nineteenth-century Germany thought. Yorck von Wartenburg was a cousin of the two Stauffenbergs, one of whom took the bomb to the Führer's headquarters on 20 July 1944.

One final name is that of Graf Fritz-Dietlof von der Schulenburg, not important in himself, but more significant for his connection with his namesake, and presumably kinsman, Graf von der Schulenburg, who had been Ambassador in Russia during the period prior to 1941 and who had worked hard and continually to prevent a break between Hitler and Soviet Russia.[1] The younger Schulenburg was politically, it appears, not a very stable individual. He had joined the Nazi party in 1932, at which time he had links with Gregor Strasser, who afterwards seceded from the movement ; and in 1937 he was made second in command of the Berlin Police. From this office and from the party he was dismissed in 1940 as politically unreliable. He had relations with various members of these opposition groups.

This list of groups and of individual names will show, I think, how widespread was the sentiment of resistance to the Nazi regime and how at the same time it involved an attitude of mistrust of the German war effort. On this second point some reservations have to be made. Many

[1] A considerable account of the diplomacy of Graf von der Schulenburg in Moscow is given in Gregory Gafencu's book, *Préliminaires de la Guerre à l'Est*, a remarkable work, published during the course of the war by an ex-Foreign Minister of Roumania.

Germans who recognized that their own nation and, in particular, the Nazi government were responsible for the war, and that the war they were committed to was unjust and aggressive on Germany's part, were now put into a very difficult position. And especially so, once the Russians had turned the tide and had begun to drive the German forces back upon their own homeland. A German defeat would involve not only the end of the war, which they would in itself have cordially welcomed, but also defeat at the Russian hands and occupation of their country or part of it by the Communists, a prospect which they regarded with at least as much abhorrence as the continuance of Hitler's regime.

What were they to do? They were not powerless; indeed several of the active commanders of army groups were among their number, and there must have been few high ranking generals who were unaware of the plot. Most of them, at least in 1944, were too heavily engaged in defending Germany to have much energy left for inner political affairs. Yet it is clear that contacts were maintained and that negotiations continued. They were thorough enough—one is tempted to add 'German enough' to be making plans in advance, before the obstacles had been cleared out of their way, and had drawn up a list of ministers for a future government. According to this scheme or to one variety of it, Rommel was to be head of a government to be set up after Hitler's fall, on the grounds that his name would, more than any other, command the ready allegiance of the troops. Beck also was given prominent office and Schulenburg, the ex-Ambassador, envisaged as Foreign Minister.

Their general hope was to make contact with the Western Allies and in the meantime continue the defence against the Russians. They found it difficult to realize that, at this particular period, it was impossible to drive a wedge between these Allies and the Russians, for Germany was the common enemy of both East and West. They did not understand how the realities of the Hitler regime, which they themselves abominated, had brought West and East together in a common crusade, and had made the Western Powers too little conscious of their potential differences with Russia and of the likely consequences of their common victory. The policy of unconditional surrender, to which the Western Powers had committed themselves, practically ruled out negotiations between any German groups and themselves, even had these groups been able to assert their authority inside Germany.

## The Last Efforts

The story of the actual attempt made by Claus von Stauffenberg has been often told. It was not by any means the first attempt of its kind. A bomb had previously been placed by two senior officers in

Hitler's private plane prior to a flight but it had failed to explode. Stauffenberg's expedient was simple but clumsy ; and it failed in its effect. The failure, and the unexpected news a few hours afterwards that Hitler was still alive, paralysed the movements which the conspirators had set in motion. The entry into action of Himmler's S.S. put an end to these spasmodic measures almost before they had begun.

Why, it may be asked, was the attempt made just at that moment? Some interesting suggestions are made in Fritz Hesse's recent book.[1] He was, he tells us, in Berlin on 16 July and on the next day travelled by train to Hitler's headquarters. On the train he met the ex-Ambassador, Schulenburg, with whom he had a cryptic conversation, as he says, *à l'orientale*. At headquarters he heard that Oshima, the Japanese Ambassador, had asked some days previously for an interview with Hitler in which he wished to communicate to him a message from the Emperor of Japan. The message consisted in this, that the Emperor was ready to act as an intermediary between Germany and Russia. Mussolini was to be summoned to headquarters. Ribbentrop was told to consult with some of his advisers on foreign questions. Among those consulted by Ribbentrop, according to Hesse's statement, were Schulenburg and himself. According to Ribbentrop, Hitler was sceptical about the proposed mediation but thought it ought not to be rejected out of hand. Schulenburg declared that it was in keeping with Stalin's character to be in contact with both the opposition inside Germany and with Hitler : but he added that, if Stalin actually made an agreement, he would keep it.

The account continues. Schulenburg spoke on the telephone to Stauffenberg, telling him that Hitler was on the point of reaching an agreement with Stalin. This forced Stauffenberg's hand. Those who thought as he did could not tolerate the idea that Hitler might once again stabilize his position by means of such an agreement.

In Hesse's opinion, Stauffenberg belonged to an opposition group, consisting in the main of Prussian officers, who aimed at a rapprochement between Soviet Russia and the German opposition movement. They realized that, in making overtures to Russia, they were risking the status and privileges of their special class. But they considered this risk was worth taking, for they hoped that association with Soviet Russia might do for a defeated Germany what association with Czarist Russia had done for a defeated Prussia after the Napoleonic campaigns in Central Europe. It was no accident therefore that many members of this group bore distinguished Prussian titles. Hesse finds it strange that Stauffenberg, who was a South German, should have been affected by this particular *mystique*. What this group could not view with equanimity was a possible

[1] *op. cit.* Pp. 356 sqq.

agreement between Soviet Russia and the Hitler regime, which would have confirmed the belief, once widespread, that Hitler was the man to extricate Germany and its people from its and their terrible position : and his rule would thereby have been further consolidated.

## Conclusion

It is interesting to reflect that, behind what seemed to the outside world during the war years a closely-knit front of the German people, confident in its armed might and flushed with its many victories, there existed all the time these currents of unbelief and opposition. It is encouraging to reflect that there were many men who on grounds of conscience and moral decency held out against the Nazi regime, in spite of the terror suspended always above their heads and the threat of the death to which in the end many of them actually succumbed. It is a strange and macabre story—that of German history behind the seemingly united front of a people at war : a story of valour blended with brutality abroad and at home of terror and deceit, shot through with glimpses of individual courage and resistance to great evil. The grim story is a commentary upon totalitarian rule and system, with its denial of all moral principle and every standard of human decency, and its disregard for the rights of men and for spiritual and religious values. May it be a warning to other tyrants and other tyrannies.

John Murray, S.J.

# The Interrelation of Agriculture and Industry in the Development of the Irish Economy

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ECONOMIC progress is a process of continual change which leads to the production of more and better goods and services, provides employment for available labour, and secures decent living standards for the population. And the test of economic policy is whether or not it achieves these results. At the same time there is no immutable economic law which says that development must conform to a particular pattern or proceed in one specific and universally agreed manner. There is no golden rule for economic development. Free trade, for example, brought prosperity to Great Britain in the 19th century. It may not do likewise for underdeveloped countries in the 20th century. It may instead make the improvement of their economic condition extremely difficult since it forces them to compete with well-organized and highly-industrialized economies, a competition which may become well-nigh impossible except on the basis of subsistence wage-rates. A country which is trying to develop must, therefore, diagnose its own problems and to a large extent prescribe its own remedies. In the 26 Counties these problems are :

(1) to provide employment and suitable living standards for a naturally increasing population in what is still largely an agricultural economy,

(2) to increase production substantially, and

(3) to sell, either at home or abroad, what agriculture and industry produce.

## Population and Employment

In the 26 Counties the numbers born each year exceed the numbers who die, so that if the country were isolated from the rest of the world, population would increase and more and more people would be forced back on agriculture for their living unless there was a corresponding

increase in the opportunities for employment in industry. Because the ability of agriculture to support population is limited, living standards would deteriorate as population pressed more and more heavily on agricultural resources. This happened during the first half of the 19th century and has happened in this century in Asia, Africa and the Balkans. Previously it was fatalistically left to natural forces to relieve such pressure which they did by high infant death rates, malnutrition, ill-health, disease, epidemics, hunger and famine, but in the political conditions of the 20th century population pressure of this kind is highly volatile and can easily explode. The only ways of escape, if birth and fertility rates do not decline, are emigration and industrialization. In Ireland, emigration has provided the escape for more than a hundred years but, considering the inroads which it has made into population, it cannot be regarded as an unmixed blessing, despite the envy of some overpopulated areas which continually request but are not given an emigration outlet for their surplus populations. Emigration can prevent living standards from deteriorating to subsistence levels or below but, because it takes the immediate population problem out of sight and prevents its unpalatable consequences from materializing on the public doorstep, it generates a complacency towards the problem itself and saps the energy required to grapple with it. At best emigration buys time, allowing development to proceed at manageable speed and without violence to established social and political institutions, but if the time is not properly used emigration may simply degenerate into depopulation.

The magnitude of the population and employment problem in the 26 Counties can be gauged from the following figures :

*Average annual natural increase in population.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1926–36 | ... | ... | 16,318 |
| 1936–46 | ... | ... | 17,380 |
| 1946–51 | ... | ... | 25,503 |

Not only did births exceed deaths in each of the three intercensal periods but the excess was an increasing one. During the twenty-five years 1926–51 there was a natural addition of approximately 464,500 to the population, so that if there had been no emigration, employment would have had to be found for nearly half a million extra people. As it happened, emigration syphoned them off and some others as well because net emigration during the period 1926–51 amounted to approximately 475,800.

The other solution to the demographic problem is industrial development. It is practically a universal phenomenon that rural areas produce

more people than they can employ, and consequently must shed the excess. The 26 Counties is no different from other countries in having a migration of people out of its rural areas. It is different from them, however, in this respect ; elsewhere the rural migration is normally to urban areas within the country, but here it is to urban employment outside the country. It is true that there is some migration from rural to urban areas in the 26 Counties but it is difficult to assess how much. Emigration is not confined to those born outside cities and towns. Town and countryside both contribute their quota. This much, however, is clear : the increase in urban employment has not provided the basis for an increase in total population. The population of the 26 Counties has been virtually stationary since 1926 ; town population has expanded and rural population has contracted by approximately the same amounts.

*Population (ooo's).*

| Census year | 26 Counties | Town | Rural |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1926 | 2,972 | 944 | 2,028 |
| 1951 | 2,961 | 1,228 | 1,733 |
| 1926–51 | −11 | +284 | −295 |

Between 1926 and 1951 total population decreased by 11,000 ; town population increased by 284,000 and rural population decreased by 295,000. To discover the full extent of migration from rural areas the figure for natural increase must be added to the figure for population decrease. The resulting total is approximately half a million.

## Production

The second problem is concerned with production. Even if population were to remain stable, the people would look for and expect a rising standard of living. In this the 26 Counties is not exceptional. In all grades of society and in all countries higher standards are demanded, and the demand is just as clamant in the highly industrialized economy as in the economy which reaches barely above subsistence level. Better living standards require an increase in the output of goods and services and an improvement in the purchasing power of the individual. The emphasis in the first instance, however, rests on increased output.

The two major branches of production in the 26 Counties are agriculture and industry. The total volume of agricultural production has altered little for nearly fifty years, and during the past hundred years has increased by only 20 to 25 per cent. Successive governments since 1922 have introduced various measures to raise output. The measures range from purely advisory services to subsidies, guaranteed minimum prices, quota acreages for specific crops and reservation of the home market for the producer. While each has had an effect on some section of agricultural production, their combined effect has only been to change the pattern of production without affecting total output. The area under wheat, for example, expanded steadily since the late 1920's. The area under oats contracted from more than a million acres in 1918 to slightly more than half a million acres in 1939, expanded to nearly a million acres in 1944 and dropped to 620,000 acres in 1951. Numbers of cattle dropped by approximately half a million between 1921 and 1926, then increased, fell away during the middle 1930's, and rose again, but never to the 1918 figure. Pigs are well below pre-war totals and so are poultry.

In industry the result has been different. Production has expanded, but the expansion has been difficult and has required considerable assistance from the State. The reasons for this are historical. The industrial sector of Ireland was traditionally in the North-East, and following the partition of the country in 1922, the Irish Free State had to build up industry almost from the beginning—not an easy assignment for a country which was essentially agricultural and poorly equipped with industrial skill, enterprise and experience. Since 1922 all governments have been preoccupied with industrial development, but while all of them have agreed that development should take place on the basis of a protected home market, they have differed on the intensity with which protection should be applied and on the pace at which industrialization should be pursued. In general it may fairly be said that before 1932 the accepted policy was to industrialize cautiously, weighing carefully, in economic terms only, the advantages and disadvangages of each proposed industrial project. Since 1932 there has been less caution and more industrialization. The assistance given by the State to industry includes import duties, quota restriction of imports, credit facilities and advisory services. The result has been a doubling of industrial employment since 1926 and a raising of industrial output to two and a half times the 1926 figure.

Achievements in the industrial sector contrast sharply with those in agriculture and underline two facts at least. The first is the greater attention paid by the State to industry and to the need for increasing industrial employment. The second is that, compared with agriculture,

industrial development is a relatively uncomplicated and straightforward process. Once the decision to start an industry is taken, the execution of the decision is a comparatively simple matter—assemble the labour, plant and materials on a pre-selected spot and keep foreign goods out of the home market. The agricultural problem is more complex. In so far as products compete with each other for land, an increase in the output of one may not mean an increase in total production. A policy of growing more wheat may be accompanied by a reduction in the acreage under oats or barley. Emphasis on milk production may cause a decline in the output of beef. In industry this kind of competition does not arise, at least not until the economy approaches full employment of the factors of production. Up to that point output can be increased simply by multiplying or expanding industrial units. For this reason, an agricultural policy which aims at increasing total production requires to be more integrated and more comprehensive than industrial policy ; otherwise the result may be nothing more than a substitution of product for product.

## Marketing

The third problem is that of selling the output of agriculture and industry. The market for commodities depends on the number of consumers and the size of their incomes. The more numerous consumers are and the more wealthy they are, the greater are the opportunities of selling what is produced. The population of the 26 Counties is small and the average income per head is moderate, so that the capacity of the home market to absorb production and thereby provide opportunities for employment is very limited. In the present demographic circumstances the expansion of the home market is governed almost entirely by the rate of increase in real income, and as this is not great the immediate prospects of expanding the home market significantly are not reassuring. The problem of selling, then, becomes to a large extent a problem of penetrating foreign markets. Agriculture has been doing this for many decades, though only for a few commodities and then mainly to one country, Great Britain. Industry's contribution to export trade is small, as recent production has been almost exclusively for the home market. There is little one can say about the measures taken to deal with marketing. There has been a limited development of the co-operative movement, limited in the sense that it has been confined to a few products, and some marketing boards and agencies have been appointed to handle agricultural produce. In foreign trade exporters have been given some assistance by the Insurance Act, 1953, and by the establishment of Córas Tráchtála Teoranta. Increasing awareness of the problem of

marketing is reflected in the emphasis which is being officially and repeatedly placed on the need to enlarge the volume of exports, industrial as well as agricultural. Selling in the home market presents no problems. Import restrictions reserve the market to the home producer, and assuming that incomes are maintained at a high and rising level, the home consumer will absorb what is produced. The success of an export drive, however, depends on producers' ability to market their products at internationally competitive prices and on their willingness to shoulder the risks involved in international trade. Despite assistance which may be provided, the foreign market can never be as safe as the protected home market and survival in foreign trade, as even highly industrialized countries are learning, consists in being and remaining at least as up-to-date as other competing sellers.

## Economic Transition

The efforts made during the past thirty years to grapple with the foregoing problems in the 26 Counties have noticeably affected the character of the economy. The result has been to produce a more urbanized economy, to alter the emphasis from agricultural to non-agricultural activity as the source of employment and additional output, to alter population distribution, and to accelerate the concentration of population in Leinster. Between 1926 and 1951 population increased by 188,000 in this province but declined by 199,000 in Munster, Connacht and Ulster (3 counties). Furthermore, the growth of urban activity during this period was confined mainly to Leinster which also experienced the least decline in rural population. In the other three provinces the expansion in total urban population was small, 58,000 and the decline in rural population very great, 257,000.

*Population (000's)*

| *Province* | *Total* | | *Town* | | *Rural* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1926 | 1951 | 1926 | 1951 | 1926 | 1951 |
| Leinster ... ... | 1,149 | 1,337 | 588 | 814 | 561 | 523 |
| Munster ... | 970 | 899 | 280 | 323 | 690 | 576 |
| Connacht ... | 553 | 472 | 54 | 66 | 499 | 406 |
| Ulster (3 counties) | 300 | 253 | 22 | 25 | 278 | 228 |

The same trend is evident in the employment statistics. Between 1931 and 1950 the mid-October figure for those engaged in industry rose by 106,000, but two-thirds of this additional employment was created in Leinster where the number of industrial employees increased by 70,000 approximately. The concentration of employment was even greater than the provincial figures indicate for, within Leinster, the increase in industrial employment in Dublin City and County amounted to 50,000. This means that nearly half the industrial expansion of the two decades 1931–1951 was poured into the Dublin area where almost half the industrial labour of the entire country is now employed.

If the 26 Counties is in a process of transition from a highly agricultural to a more non-agricultural economy, it is important to know what sort of relation is being maintained between agriculture and industry. Close interdependence of the two has always existed in economic society although the type of interdependence has changed in the process of economic evolution. Even in predominantly agricultural economies the activities of artisans and craftsmen cannot be overlooked, and in industrial economies the importance of agriculture as a source of food and raw materials cannot be exaggerated. However highly industrialized a country may try to become, it cannot develop its economic activities without either maintaining a balance between agriculture and industry within its own boundaries or securing, through export and import, a close contact with agriculture in other countries. To secure her food and raw materials Great Britain, for example, has had to forge trading links with countries like Africa, Denmark, India, Ireland and South America.

## Labour Transfer

The relationship between agriculture and industry may be examined in terms of labour and employment. The working population, as census returns show, is almost $1\frac{1}{4}$ millions and has virtually remained at that figure since 1926. For practical purposes this means that the number of employment opportunities in the country as a whole has not increased and that the growth of non-agricultural employment has been offset by reductions in the agriculturally-occupied population. Between 1926 and 1951 employment in industry rose by 104,000 and in services and other activities by 55,000, but the numbers at work in agriculture dropped by 147,000 ; the decrease was an accelerating one because half the decrease took place during the twenty years 1926–46, that is at a rate of 3,750 per annum, and half during the five years 1946–51, that is at a rate of 14,400 per annum.

*Persons at work (000's).*

| | 1926 | 1946 | 1951 | 1926–51 | 1946–51 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agriculture ... | 647 | 572 | 500 | −147 | −72 |
| Industry ... | 164 | 212 | 268 | +104 | +56 |
| Services ... | 395 | 424 | 443 | +48 | +19 |
| Other ... | 14 | 20 | 21 | +7 | +1 |
| TOTAL ... | 1,220 | 1,228 | 1,232 | +12 | +4 |

The substantial reduction in the agricultural working population since the war is regarded as surprising in view of the comparatively prosperous condition of agriculture. The phenomenon is not so unusual as it might appear because agricultural and industrial prosperity accompany one another and industrial prosperity means an abundance of employment opportunities. In the U.S.A., for example, migration from agriculture is greatest when economic conditions are good and least when they are bad, and since the immediate market for Irish labour includes Great Britain, it is not surprising that full employment there should have attracted rural labour from the 26 counties. Under conditions of prosperity the agriculturist is made more vividly aware of his desire for a better standard of living ; his appreciation of differences between the financial returns from different employments is made more acute and if industry is providing employment at higher remuneration than his own occupation he will take the opportunity of improving his material condition and will migrate.

It might be argued on the face of the statistics that, since the loss in agricultural employment was balanced by the gain in non-agricultural employment, the result was satisfactory. But this leaves emigration out of account. There is evidence that the majority of emigrants are from rural areas, mainly from the small-farm areas of the Western sea-board and the congested counties. This implies that the development of non-agricultural activities is making little contact with the demographic overflow of rural areas. It appears to be providing mainly for the natural increase of the urban areas and absorbing relatively little of the migrating rural population. In the field of labour and employment, then, the interrelation of agriculture and industry is far from ideal, and is not even normal by comparison with other countries. Industrial expansion, even though it has proceeded at a substantial rate, has hardly touched the migrating rural population, and at the same time the rate of decline

in the agriculturally-occupied population has been stepped up greatly. If, in spite of the attention and concern which the State has given to industrial development for more than thirty years, industry remains unable to provide the additional employment which the natural increase of the rural areas requires, one is forced back to agriculture, the major occupation in rural areas, to consider whether the migration from agriculture itself is not excessive.

## Migration from Agriculture

Between 1926 and 1946 the reduction in the agricultural population occurred on farms of 30 acres or less, while on the larger farms numbers tended to remain stable or to increase slightly. By contrast to this, farms of all sizes lost population between 1946 and 1951 and in somewhat similar proportions. There was, however, this significant difference between the decline on the small and on the large farms ; on the latter the reduction took place in the paid employees while on the former it took place in the relatives assisting. These losses of population cannot be explained by decreases in the number of holdings. Since 1912 holdings between 30 and 200 acres have increased in number. Holdings over 200 acres have decreased, but the numbers are not very significant. The big reduction occurred in holdings of less than 30 acres, but although the number decreased by 92,807 since 1912, the major portion of the decrease had taken place by 1931. Between 1912 and 1917 the number dropped by 44,582, and between 1917 and 1931 by 29,578. What is apparently happening then is that the small holding is no longer the basis which it was for population and is not providing the sort of livelihood which those living on it require. This means one of two things. Either the economy of the small farm cannot support population, or else the economy of the small farm is changing in such a way that it can no longer support the numbers which it did.

An examination of the statistics indicates that it is the latter rather than the former reason which is the relevant one. Milch cows, sheep, pigs and poultry have decreased in numbers. Dry cattle, particularly 2 years old and upwards, have increased considerably and there has been a small increase in tillage. The same sort of trend is evident on the larger farms, but what is profitable for the large farm is not necessarily so for the small. The small farm is a paying proposition as long as the owner can convert animal feeding stuffs quickly and economically into animals and animal products and market the output efficiently. Traditionally, milk, pigs, poultry, root crops and a limited amount of cereal cultivation have been the foundation of small farm prosperity. Simply

because the small farm is small, production must be intensive. Grain-growing and dry-stock raising which are emerging as the predominant characteristics of the agricultural economy are of their nature extensive operations requiring a large acreage, and profitable only if the acreage is sufficiently large to offset the lower return per acre which they yield compared with intensive farming. A return of £10 per acre gives the owner of a 30 acre farm an annual income equal to that of the unskilled industrial labourer. A return of £20 per acre puts him in the income group of the junior business executive, while £40 per acre leaves him and the professional man not far apart. Returns of £20, £30 and £40 per acre from dry-stock farming or from extensive grain growing are not possible on small holdings, and as long as existing production trends continue, the national average return of roughly £10 per acre will leave the small farmer in a semi-depressed economic condition.

Judged from the standpoint of population and employment, agricultural and industrial development have not, apparently, been properly fused. Each has proceeded independently of the other, and while it would not be correct to say that there is a positive antagonism between them, it is still true that the development of agriculture is tending to produce a problem which the development of industry cannot handle ; industrial policy has provided employment but agricultural development has produced an employment problem. In view of the potentialities of agriculture the present migration is excessive. A certain transfer of labour out of agriculture will occur. It occurs even in such highly organized agricultural communities as Denmark and New Zealand, but it does not occur at such a rate that it presents industry with an almost insoluble problem. What is required, as much as a progressive industrial programme, is an agricultural programme which takes into account that 75 per cent of the farms in the country are 50 acres or less and that 55 per cent are 30 acres or less,[1] that 40 per cent of the agricultural population of working age live on farms of 30 acres or less, that 20 per cent live on farms between 30 and 50 acres, and that 40 per cent live on farms of 50 acres and above. The agricultural economy is predominantly an economy of small to medium-sized farms and only a programme which takes account of the small farmer's problems can help to hold up the rush from rural areas which is presenting the industrial sector with an impossible job of labour absorption.

In many countries, even though rural migration occurs and even though the agricultural population is declining, the numbers engaged in agriculture are proportionately higher than here. If the density of agriculturally-occupied population in the 26 Counties were exceptionally

[1] 42 per cent of the agricultural land is in farms up to 50 acres and 23 per cent in farms up to 30 acres.

higher than elsewhere, one might argue that the present migration was not excessive because the land was already seriously overcrowded. That, however, is not the case. It is the other countries which have the higher population densities. In Denmark the density of agriculturally-occupied population is about one-third greater than here ; in Switzerland it is about 40 per cent greater ; in Belgium it is 85 per cent greater and in the Netherlands it is nearly two and a half times the figure for the 26 Counties. Against the background of statistics such as these one must regard the present migration from agriculture as excessive, and one might even go further and ask if any of this migration is necessary, especially since the density of agriculturally-occupied population in the 26 Counties appears to be lower than that of other Western European countries with the exception of Great Britain and Spain.

## Materials

The relationship between agriculture and industry may also be examined in terms of production to see to what extent agricultural and industrial output complement each other ; how far does each supply the other with the plant and materials required for production. The relation between the two could be close and well-knit, industry supplying agriculture with machinery, processed fertilisers and feeding stuffs, and agriculture contributing a substantial proportion of raw materials for industry. In the 26 Counties development has reached the point where home industry produces much of the machinery and most of the implements used by agriculture. By contrast output of industrially-produced fertilisers is small, except for ground limestone, mainly because the consumption of fertilisers is low compared with other European countries ; the same comment applies to processed feeding stuffs. In general then it may be said that industry is providing agriculture with its requirements. The statement is, however, subject to this qualification. While the quantities produced afford no grounds for criticism, the prices of the products and, at times, the quality of the products have been severely criticized by the agricultural community. In so far as these criticisms are well founded industry is not serving agriculture as it should. It is raising agricultural costs unnecessarily and reducing agriculture's competitive power in foreign markets. This consideration, which may not have been significant before the war, is becoming increasingly important in recent years. Before the war most agricultural machinery was horse-drawn, ploughs for example, and lasted a long time. A substantial proportion of farm equipment, such as carts, was hand-made and made locally. Furthermore a great number of agricultural operations were performed manually, milking and beet-harvesting for example. Now the scene is changing.

Agriculture is becoming mechanized. The number of tractors, harvesters, milking-machines and seed-sowers increases each year and agriculture is moving to a stage where it will become increasingly dependent on industry, and where in consequence industrial prices will have a growing effect on agricultural costs. The independence of agriculture and industry is disappearing. Farm accounts contain a growing number of industrial items such as fuel oil, repairs and depreciation allowances, while the introduction of specialized and expensive equipment which can be employed only for short periods of the year enlarges the burden of overhead charges. Industrial prices react on agricultural prices in two ways. As consumer, the farmer's cost of living is influenced by the prices of the industrially-produced consumer goods which he buys. If these prices rise, he will, to prevent his standard of living from deteriorating, seek a corresponding increase in the prices of the commodities which he sells. Secondly, as a producer, the farmer's costs are affected by the prices of industrial commodities which he uses in production. Increases in these prices force up his production costs and consequently the market price of his output. The first of these two considerations has always applied, the second which may be regarded as the more important has begun to apply in serious measure recently, particularly with the growth of mechanization. As a consumer the individual may not react quickly to price changes, but as a producer he reacts immediately and attempts to incorporate increased costs in increased selling prices.

So much for industry's contribution to agriculture ; what of agriculture's contribution to industry ? The extent to which agricultural products are the basic raw materials for home industries is small. Of twenty-four industries, each employing 3,000 persons or more, approximately six can be said to rely wholly or largely on home-produced raw materials. They are boot and shoe manufacture ; bread, biscuit and flour confectionery ; brewing ; butter, cheese, condensed milk and margarine ; grain milling ; sugar, sugar confectionery and jam-making. The number engaged in these six industries is about 39,000. The number engaged in all industries employing 3,000 or more is 192,000 approximately. So the six industries based on agriculture provide employment for about 20 per cent of the total. This fact is not surprising in view of the general pattern of agriculture. Traditionally, farming has been designed to produce cattle for export, and the only substantial modification of this has been the extension of cereal cultivation for domestic consumption during recent decades. A direct integration of agriculture and industry in this respect, then, hardly exists. Agricultural production proceeds independently of industry's possible requirements, the main link between them being the normal food demands of the industrial population.

## Industrial Consequences

There is another aspect to be considered. With agriculture supplying few materials to industry, the direction of industrial development has been shaped almost entirely by consumer wants. Indeed the general pattern of industrial expansion might be said to have emerged from a scrutiny of two lists, the list of commodities which people buy and the list of commodities which are imported. If an imported commodity could technically be manufactured and if the home demand was sufficiently large to support a factory, the factory was built and the commodity produced. It would be wrong to suggest that this is an improper procedure, but it must at the same time be realized that the procedure sets distinct limits to the scope for industry. When the list of suitable commodities runs out, industrial expansion slows down. Secondly, industry is made directly dependent on imported raw materials which must be paid for and perhaps at prices higher than those charged in the producing country if, as sometimes happens, the producers of raw materials practice a double-pricing policy, that is one price if the materials are used at home and a higher price if they are exported. Thirdly, the possibility of developing an export trade in manufactured goods is remote if production is undertaken mainly with an eye to the home market.

These facts appear clearly in the country's foreign trade statistics. In 1929 imported consumer goods amounted to 45 per cent of visible imports ; in 1938 they amounted to 31 per cent, and in 1952 to 23 per cent. At the same time materials for industry as a proportion of visible imports rose from 36 per cent in 1929 to 57 per cent in 1938, and to 61 per cent in 1952. Among the exports agricultural produce is the most important currency earner. Live animals and foodstuffs comprise 75 per cent of exports, and if such traditional industrial exports as the products of the brewing and distilling industries are excluded, industrial exports are little more than negligible. Furthermore, agricultural exports are principally to Great Britain, but imports come from all over the world. Before the war this was not important, but with the world divided into separate currency areas and with sterling inconvertible, it is now a matter of considerable significance. In 1952 exports to and imports from Great Britain balanced but there was a deficit of £71 millions with the rest of the world, and of the £71 millions deficit £56 millions were with countries outside the sterling area. The general position is that agricultural exports are paying for the imports which industry requires. This in itself matters little, but since agricultural output is static and since industry is catering chiefly for the domestic market, it could matter a great deal. As living standards rise, the proportion of agricultural produce consumed increases, leaving less for export.

In 1926, 52 per cent of agricultural output was consumed at home an 48 per cent exported. Now 66 per cent is consumed at home and 34 pe cent exported, and although the numbers engaged in agriculture hav decreased considerably since 1926, the proportion of agricultural outpu consumed on farms has risen from 30 to 33 per cent. If industrial expansio continues, one may expect that the proportion of agricultural productio available for export will continue to decline because the growing indus trial population will require more foodstuffs, and unless industry ca produce a surplus for sale abroad, and also sell it abroad, the problem of paying for imported industrial raw materials could very well become so acute that the development of industry would become extremely difficult.

## Income

Thirdly, the relationship between agriculture and industry may be examined in terms of income—the purchasing power available to buy output. Since income is the money value of what is produced it can be increased by increasing output and allowing prices to remain stable, by increasing prices and allowing output to remain stable, or by increasing both output and prices. An increase in the income of the industrial sector will ensure a greater demand for agricultural products as well as industrial ; an increase in agricultural income will ensure a greater demand for industrial products as well as agricultural. If, therefore, the incomes of these two sections of the economy keep rising, the result is greater prosperity all-round, provided prices do not rise by corresponding amounts. If prices rise, the community is nominally better off but in real terms the improvement is not so great if, indeed, there is any improvement at all.

Agricultural income dropped during the 1930's. It fell from £55 millions in 1929 to £37 millions in 1938, and rose to £123 millions in 1952. Industrial income rose from £31 millions in 1929 to £35 millions in 1938, and to £93 millions in 1952. Because of the preponderance of agriculture in the economy the national income followed the trend of agricultural income. It fell during the 1930's and rose since then. It was about £162 millions in 1929, £157 millions in 1938, and £404 millions in 1952. If prices had remained stable these figures would represent a considerable increase in real prosperity compared with pre-war years. As it happened they reflect price increases for the most part, because real national income is only about one sixth higher than in 1938.

While agricultural output has not increased, agricultural income has doubled compared with 1929, and more than trebled compared with 1938. As a result the price of agricultural output is twice as high as in 1929 and more than three times as high as in 1938. Industrial output

expanded steadily and is now 150 per cent higher than in 1926 and 62 per cent higher than in 1938, so that the price per unit of industrial output has risen by approximately 60 per cent. From the point of view of real income the achievement in industry is superior to that in agriculture. Even though prices rose faster than output, there was a substantial increase in production, whereas in agriculture the growth of income was almost wholly a price phenomenon.

## Home Market

As far as the market is concerned the growth of agricultural income since 1938 is a good thing. The depression of agricultural income during the 1930's put a severe limit to the home market for industrial products, and had the country not been in the early stages of industrialization the limit would have been felt more acutely. The growth of agricultural prosperity in the 1940's expanded the home market for industry, and tangible evidence of this is the increased number of tractors, harvesters and motor cars for example, in the countryside. Low agricultural income reacts adversely on industrial prosperity, particularly in a country such as this where agriculture employs about 40 per cent of the working population and produces about 30 per cent of the national income.

The implications of the unchanged volume of agricultural output must not be overlooked. Agriculture not only provides part of the market for industrial output, it also supplies industry with food and raw materials. The traffic between them is two-way. It is true that increasing agricultural income enlarges the market for industry, but, if the increase in income is only a reflection of rising prices, the cost of food and raw materials to the industrial sector is raised and industrial costs and prices are consequently driven up. The farmer in turn pays higher prices for his industrial purchases thereby losing some of his increase in money income. Furthermore, if food prices to the consumer are not kept stable by subsidies, increases in these prices quickly become the basis for a higher-wage demand, and if the demand is granted the price structure is upset still more. If the demand is not granted, the consumer's ability to purchase foodstuffs is curtailed.

The argument does not imply that each time the farmer gets an increase in prices he really does himself no good. He may do himself a great deal of good. The State may subsidize foodstuffs and finance the subsidies by taxing the wealthy sections of the urban community, or there may be a world shortage of foodstuffs and wealthy importing countries may be willing to pay high prices. In these cases the agriculturist gains. The point of the argument is that unless unusual conditions such as those mentioned exist, a rising agricultural income due entirely to rising

prices defeats itself quickly. If on the other hand increases in agricultural income are the result of increasing productivity, that is to say greater output at lower cost of production, the increase in income can be consolidated and maintained. It is on this ground that one must view with some concern the growth in farmer's income. It has been largely a matter of prices and in market conditions which were in many ways artificial. Any jolting of those conditions by such factors as the inability of the community to support prices, or a substantial improvement in world food and raw materials supplies, could send this whole income structure tottering and reduce agricultural income substantially with consequent ill effects to the economy as a whole. There have been signs during the recent past that such instability could become very real indeed, and the signs have been sufficiently evident on the home and on the foreign market to give ground for alarm.

It is important that rural and urban incomes should be maintained and if possible increased. Economically the best way to do this is by raising output and at the same time keeping production costs reasonably competitive with those of efficient producers in other countries. This applies to all sectors of the economy. For example, even with existing prices agricultural income is low. A national average of £10 per acre leaves wide scope for improvement. A doubling of this figure, particularly if obtained on the basis of efficient production, would have tremendous possibilities for the economy. Put at its crudest it would mean adding another £123 millions to the home market for goods and services, or increasing the national income by about 30 per cent. Such an increase would certainly afford a basis for substantially increased employment and would provide, in the shape of an enlarged domestic market, a broader jumping-off ground for exports. It has been the experience of more than one exporting country that a large home market is an essential preliminary to large-scale exporting.

## SOME CONCLUSIONS

An appraisal of the results of thirty years economic progress suggests that a proper balance was not preserved between agricultural and industrial development. The reason for this is a simple one. It was not the task of any particular person to ensure that such a balance was maintained. The development of each of these two sectors of the economy proceeded independently of the other. No comprehensive attempt was made to link the two, to consider how one could help to solve the problems of the other, or indeed to see that solving the problems of one did not aggravate the problems of the other. Industrial development, for example, was mainly a matter of finding commodities which could be

made and marketed at home ; agricultural development was mainly a matter of promoting the production of a particular crop or particular animal, too often accompanied by a reduction in the output of something else. There was no liaison between the two sectors. In the beginning this may not have been important. The amount of industrialization was small. The list of commodities which could be readily manufactured was long and there was an urgent need to provide employment. It is important now, however, because the list has grown short and the need to provide employment is as urgent as ever. If proper contact had been maintained between agriculture and industry, the basis for industrial development would have been far broader than it now is.

It may be asked if the kind of development which has occurred has eased to any appreciable extent the economy's basic problems. The answer here is a qualified negative. Industrial employment has increased ; agricultural employment has decreased ; the working population has remained stable, but only because the surplus emigrated. The result appears reassuring when attention, as often happens, is directed almost exclusively to the industrial statistics. It is not reassuring at all when the agricultural statistics are also scrutinized. Not only is agriculture shedding population at an excessive rate but it is creating a surplus labour problem which the narrowly-based industrial structure of the economy cannot tackle. As far as production is concerned the result is better. While agricultural output remained stationary, industrial output expanded so that there was a net increase in total output. But more than ever before agriculture has become the strategic element in further development. The new industries are based mainly on imported raw materials and as yet have not an export trade of any consequence. Agriculture pays for the required imports, but the proportion of agricultural output available for export is declining. If the decline becomes rapid or if the value of agricultural exports falls substantially, the consequences to industry will be very serious. With regard to marketing, the home market measured in real terms is about one sixth greater than pre-war, and much of the expansion occurred in the agricultural sector. The continued stability of the population at virtually three million people sets distinct limits to the home market, so that producers must look to foreign markets if production and employment are to expand significantly. That immediately raises the vexed question of production costs and whether they are competitive with other countries.

Finally it may be asked, what are the general lines which future development should follow ? Here the answer is straightforward. Much greater emphasis than before must be placed on agricultural development. This implies that agriculture's many and many-sided problems must be examined carefully, patiently and, above all, sympathetically. The

basic facts show that output could be raised and could even be doubled. It is merely a matter of finding the appropriate way to do the job. But finding the way means dropping preconceived notions and personal whims concerning what agriculture should do, and in addition winning the confidence of the agricultural community. Parallel with this emphasis on agricultural development, greater cohesion is needed between the development of agriculture and industry. In future it will not be profitable for the economy to allow each to pursue its own way without reference to the other. The two are not independent. They are parts of the one economy and touch each other at many points, for example labour-transfer. Preserving a closer link between the two will require that each has ready access to available supplies of labour, capital, raw materials and equipment, and also that neither is unduly penalized by efforts to develop the other. Furthermore, now that the economy has attained to the production of many consumer goods, the scope for additional industrial development will be limited unless industry and agriculture move in step, so that agriculture provides a proper quota of raw materials for processing at home and sufficient exports to pay for raw material imports until such time as industry reaches a point where its exports make their proper contribution to the balance of trade.

J. J. Byrne

# Protection and the Efficiency of Irish Industry

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AT its inception in 1921, the new Irish State was predominantly agricultural. In the decades which followed, and especially during the nineteen-thirties, industrial development was encouraged by tariffs, quotas and import prohibitions, and by a variety of measures to provide capital and advice to prospective industrialists. The first protective tariffs were imposed in the budget of 1924 to give a 'limited but sufficient experiment in the use of a tariff for the stimulation of Irish industry.'[1] The policy of protection developed in the years which followed, becoming less selective and experimental and more forceful in the next decade. During the last thirty years, the numbers employed in manufacturing industry have more than doubled, and it is probable that the output of these industries has almost doubled as well. There is now a widespread feeling that policy in the immediate future should be concerned with increasing the efficiency of the industries we already have, rather than with further extending their range. This essay has a three-fold aim : first, to suggest that a rough measure of the relative efficiency of an Irish industry may be based on the relation between the price of its product and the price of the equivalent import, exclusive of the tariff ; secondly, to examine critically price controls as a method of improving the relative efficiency of Irish industry ; thirdly, to make some tentative suggestions as to other policies by which efficiency might be promoted.

The effects of tariffs and other protective devices on the prices of the goods on which they are imposed can be measured. If no protection had been offered, these goods would most probably still be imported. If they came from the United Kingdom, they would be available here at the prices at which they can now be bought in Northern Ireland.[2] The prices of such of these goods as are produced by industries set up during the last thirty years are also known. Where the quality of the Irish-made article is the same as that of the potential import, the difference between their prices in the Irish Republic is a measure of the efficiency of Irish production as compared with production in the country where the potential import is made.

[1] Minister for Industry and Commerce, Dail Debates, 25/4/1924, columns 40 and 50.
[2] Excluding purchase tax where this is levied.

The price of the Irish-made article may exceed the price of the equivalent import (excluding duty) for two reasons. First, certain things which are the fault of no Irish businessman or politician,—such as the relative smallness of the Irish market and the paucity of the country's natural resources and to some extent its unfortunate history—mean that the price of the Irish-made one may be permanently higher. These permanent and quasi-permanent disadvantages under which Irish businessmen operate must be accepted, for they lie largely beyond our control. If the price differential is wholly attributable to these disadvantages, then we may say that the Irish industry is as efficient as it can reasonably be expected to be. Secondly, a part of the actual differential may be due to Irish businessmen not organizing their activities as efficiently as they might. The aim of policy should be to reduce this part of the price differential to zero. Since it is not possible to measure how much of the difference between the price of an Irish-made product and the price of the equivalent import (excluding duty) is due to each of these causes, we can never say whether an Irish industry is as efficient as it might or could be. We can say, however, that any reduction in the price differential means an increase in the relative efficiency of that Irish industry, for it is most probably the result of an improvement in industrial organization.

This measure of efficiency may be described in a rather different way. If the price of an Irish-assembled car is, say, £500 (excluding import duties on component parts), and if the basic price of the same model assembled in the United Kingdom is there £450, then we may look upon the difference of £50 as a tax paid by the Irish purchaser to the Irish assembler, who uses the proceeds to compensate him for the relative disadvantages under which he works. It is this payment that makes it possible for the Irish assembler to provide employment in this line of activity in Ireland. The activities of the assembler will be judged efficient in our sense if it can be shown that this £50 ' tax ' is the *minimum* payment that is necessary per car to maintain the assembly of that car in Ireland ; any reduction in this ' tax ' creates a reasonable presumption that the efficiency of the assembly industry has increased.

Irish Governments have not been unaware of the relation between prices and efficiency, for their concern with prices began as early as 1922. In that year a Commission on Prices was set up and it reported in 1924. Mr Cosgrave's Government felt that the control of prices was administratively difficult and expensive, and decided to approach the problem through the Trade Loans (Guarantee) Act, 1924, under which loans could be given to reduce retail prices. A Tribunal on Prices was set up in February, 1926, reporting in October, 1927, but no action was taken.

The Control of Prices Act, passed in 1932, established a Prices Commission to examine complaints that excessive prices were being charged, either retail or wholesale, for articles of common necessity, and enabled action to be taken if these complaints were found to be justified. By Section 41 of this Act, the Minister for Industry and Commerce could require the Prices Commission to investigate the prices being charged for any protected commodity ; or this Commission could itself initiate such an investigation. The Control of Prices Act, 1937, which repealed the Act of 1932, strengthened the Minister's powers to fix prices at a 'reasonable' level, and in addition permitted him to make Price (Restriction of Profits) Orders on the recommendation of the Prices Commission. By Article 8 of the Trade Agreement of April, 1938, between the British and Irish Governments, the latter agreed to have the existing protective duties and other restrictions on imports reviewed, as soon as practicable, by the Prices Commission, and to have them replaced by duties not exceeding 'such a level as will give United Kingdom producers and manufacturers full opportunity of reasonable competition, while affording to Eire industries adequate protection having regard to relative cost of economical and efficient production, provided that in the application of this principle special consideration may be given to the case of industries not fully established.' The functions of the Prices Commission were extended in these directions by the Prices Commission (Extension of Functions) Act, 1938. The initiative in suggesting which goods should be reviewed by the Prices Commission lay with the United Kingdom Government, and British producers were guaranteed a full hearing.[1] The advent of the Second World War prevented any practical experience being gained of the actual working of these provisions.

During the Second World War, prices were fixed by orders issued under the Emergency Powers Act, 1939. These powers were substantially continued by the Supplies and Services (Temporary Provisions) Act, 1946, which is still in force. This Act was extended at the end of 1950 to enable the Minister to set up Advisory bodies, and in January 1951, the Prices Advisory Body was set up by ministerial order to advise the Minister on price control. The most recent evidence of the Irish Government's concern about prices is to be found in Schedule Two of the Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1953. Any measures, rules, agreements or acts which 'unjustly enhance the price of goods or promote unfairly the advantages of suppliers or distributors of goods at the expense of the public' are stated to be unfair trade practices. The Fair Trade Commission on its own initiative may examine such restrictive practices, and with the agreement of the majority of those engaged in the trade

[1] Articles 12 and 13 respectively of the Trade Agreement.

in question may make Fair Trading Rules, which, if observed, would eliminate them. The Fair Trading Rules are not legally enforceable, but may become so if an order is made to that effect by the Minister for Industry and Commerce.

One characteristic of these measures by which Irish governments have attempted to control prices is the recurrence of the adjectives 'unreasonable', 'unjust' and 'unfair'. This implies that there is some price for each good and for each service which may be regarded as the 'reasonable', 'just' or 'fair' price. In the statutes examined in the previous paragraphs this standard or norm is nowhere defined. To suggest that these adjectives are intended to describe not the price but the man who fixes it offers no solution. The reasonable or just man is not defined, and it is no more easy to define and identify him than it is to define and identify the reasonable or just price. To retort that each man knows what is just or reasonable is to introduce as many norms as there are men, for what seems justice to one man may seem injustice to his neighbour.

It is probable that in applying these statutes, the price that was 'reasonable' or 'just' for any article was made to depend on the expenses incurred in producing it and, alternatively or as well, on the profits earned by those who produced it. Indeed, in many countries, the levels at which prices are controlled are made to depend specifically on either costs or profits. The Prices of Goods Act, passed in the United Kingdom in 1939, controlled the prices of a wide range of goods and services at their levels of August of that year, and allowed their prices to be increased thereafter only to an extent sufficient to compensate for increases in certain specified costs of production. The behaviour of prices was made to depend wholly, therefore, on the behaviour of costs, and as a result profits were rigidly controlled (in so far as the Act was effectively enforced) at their 1939 levels. Measures to control prices on a 'cost-plus' basis, which were common in both the United Kingdom and the United States, make the dependence of prices on costs of production quite explicit. In all these measures, prices were related ultimately to both costs and profits, for the price of no article was fixed precisely at the average costs of producing it. Rather, the price was fixed above this level, and it was from the margin by which price exceeded average costs that the producer derived his profit. Before the level at which price was to be controlled was fixed, therefore, some estimate had to be made of the profit to be allowed. While in this way, by relating price to cost, the problem of defining the 'reasonable' price may seem to be shelved, it necessarily poses the further problem of defining the 'reasonable' profit. While these two problems are necessarily the same in essence, more people may agree on a solution to the latter. In some

circumstances, and especially during times of national emergency, the reasonable profit may be defined as that which was earned in some 'normal' period in the past; in others, it may be defined as some typical or average rate of return on turnover or on the capital invested.

At this juncture, it may be convenient to summarize the discussion so far. We have suggested that the relation between the price paid for an Irish-made article and the price that would be paid here, in the absence of protection, for the same, or most closely similar, one imported from abroad, provides a rough measure of the relative efficiency of the Irish industry. The size and history of the Irish Republic and its relatively poor endowment with the raw materials necessary for industrial production, mean that the price of Irish-made goods may be permanently higher than the prices of the equivalent free imports. In no case can we establish easily by how much the price of the Irish article should exceed that of the imported one if the Irish producers are just to be compensated for these relative disadvantages under which they operate. We can never say, therefore, whether an Irish industry is as efficient as it might or could be. We can say, however, that any reduction in the difference between the price of the Irish-made article and the price of the import means an increase in the relative efficiency of that Irish industry. This relationship between prices and efficiency may have helped to impel Irish governments towards attempting to control prices. Reason, justice and fairness provide no precise criteria in the light of which prices could be fixed, and the degree of relative efficiency that the prices imply measured. The relating of prices to costs of production implies some judgment about what profits should be allowed to the producer, and it is probable that no general agreement on what profit is reasonable may be reached.

It might seem that the powers to fix prices, possessed by the Irish Government, promote the efficiency of Irish industry by keeping its prices lower than they otherwise might be, or by preventing them from rising by as much or as fast as they might. This would only be true, however, if the costs of production lay beyond the manufacturer's control. In fact, they generally do not. The costs that a manufacturer incurs in producing any given output of his product depend on the quantities of the different kinds of labour and raw materials and so on that he buys, and on the price that he has to pay for each of these. The wages of labour are generally fixed and beyond the control of the individual manufacturer. The same raw material may be available at different prices from different suppliers, or all might charge the same price. In either case, the price to be paid is likely to be a *datum* to the manufacturer. This is not true, however, of the *quantities* of these things that are bought

by the manufacturer. A manufacturer who is considering whether or not to produce a particular article, faces a wide range of different methods by which he might do so. Each method requires certain and generally different quantities of labour, materials and equipment, and the costs of production of the product will therefore vary between one method and another. Even if the businessman has already invested in a factory and in equipment, he has some control over the quantities, for example, of the raw materials and labour that he employs in the manufacture of his product. By employing more labour, for instance, less raw materials might be required for any given rate of output, for the wastage of materials can be the more carefully controlled and perhaps almost eliminated. By employing more supervisory labour and fewer operatives the cost of production of a given output might be reduced, since the work might be organized more continuously and economically. It is only in the rather rare circumstances where the proportions in which the factors of production can be combined with one another are fixed and unalterable, that the businessman in producing any given output is denied control over the quantity of each factor that he employs. If a business is to be as efficient as is possible, then those who control it must ensure that their costs of production for each output are as low as possible.

Price controls and import restrictions may provide no incentive towards the minimization of production costs : indeed, on the contrary, they may encourage waste and inefficiency. A tariff makes it possible for a businessman to charge a relatively higher price for his product, and thus makes it easier for him to compete with foreign producers ; but this reduction in the degree of competition removes one incentive towards lowering costs. We have seen above that to control prices on the basis of costs of production necessarily involves some estimate of the profit that is to be allowed. In the light of what was said in the previous paragraph, it is clear that at any given price at which a businessman is selling his product he can make his profits appear reasonable. For his profits are the difference between his revenues and his costs ; by increasing the latter he can reduce his profits ; and costs can be raised by buying factors in excess of the minimum quantities that are strictly necessary, or by remunerating himself, or his family or his managers or his employees excessively. Once the price has been fixed, it might be thought that the businessman would have a strong incentive to reduce his costs of production, for by doing so he would increase his profits : in other words, price control might induce a manufacturer to become technically more efficient. Even if this does happen, there will be no increase in efficiency as we have defined it, for the price remains at its controlled level, and no benefit accrues to consumers. It is only likely to happen, however, if the controlled price is calculated on the basis of

some 'representative' or 'normal' costs, for only then can the manufacturer feel that by reducing his own costs he is not likely to reduce the controlled price. If the controlled price is based on the individual manufacturer's costs of production, the incentive to reduce costs may disappear, and for two reasons. First, if he does so, the controlled price of his product may be reduced. Secondly, by reducing costs and so increasing profits he may qualify for a Prices (Restriction of Profits) Order. In neither case will the increased profits that would follow a reduction in costs of production accrue wholly or even mainly to him.

The maintenance of costs at an unnecessarily high level is not prevented from occurring even if some attempt is made by the price-controlling authority to define what costs are relevant and allowable. The magnitude of this task generally makes it impossible for the price-controlling agency to do more than define what *categories* of cost are to be allowed, such as labour costs, materials and interest. This, however, need provide no inducement to the businessman to keep the costs in each category to a minimum. Even if the price-control authority has the right to peruse the businessman's accounts, and if it exercises that right, there is still no guarantee that the costs in each category are kept to a minimum. The accounts, if they are detailed, will show, for example, the number of men engaged in a particular process, and the wages paid to them: the price-controller may check the wages by reference to those paid for similar kinds of labour, but it is difficult, if not impossible for him to decide whether or not the number of men employed is the minimum that is strictly necessary. If there are other firms producing the same product by the same process, he may take the minimum number that is employed by any one of them as his standard. By applying it, he may eliminate the grosser forms of inefficiency, but he does nothing to improve the efficiency of the firm that he takes as his standard. If the other firms use different processes, or if there is only one firm producing the product in question, then no such standard is available. Unless the controller is also a technical expert, he must take the businessman's word for the possibilities of increased efficiency. In these respects, price controls have similar effects to the excessive taxation of profits, and what happened in the United Kingdom and in the United States when both were used confirms our analysis. There is no reason to suppose that these influences have not been at work in the Irish Republic. Indeed, it is hoped that they have been, for if they have not then Irish business is truly unenterprising!

If a fall in the relative price at which an Irish manufacturer sells his product is an indication of an increase in the efficiency with which he produces it, but if price control may enhance rather than lower the price, then how can efficiency be promoted? The only solution that

has so far been found to this problem is other independent businessmen producing the same product. If there is only one firm producing an article, then those who want it have no alternative but to patronize that firm. The more firms there are selling an article, the harder must each strive to secure the consumers' patronage. Their striving will take the form of making their operations as efficient as possible, so that the price that they charge is as low as possible. If a producer does his best but if nevertheless others are more efficient, then consumers will ignore him. He must seek his living elsewhere. If consumers' desires change and he makes no effort to meet them, then consumers will buy from those who do. The more firms there are, striving independently of one another for custom, then the lower, in general, will be the price of the product that they sell. In these circumstances, no businessman can afford any objective other than profits and solvency.

In the course of such competition, the most efficient firms generally gain, and in their doing so, consumers gain, for they now get the product they want at a relatively lower price. It is natural that those who are less likely to gain by competition dislike it and take steps to eliminate at least some of its manifestations. Of all the manifestations, price-competition is usually the first to be mitigated or eliminated by agreement, and of all such agreements one to maintain resale prices is probably the most common. Resale price-maintenance is a practice by which retailers and/or manufacturers undertake not to sell a product at less than a certain price. It does not, of course, eliminate all avenues of competition : indeed, it almost certainly increases competition in the provision of ancillary services : retailers try to attract or maintain custom by multiplying the services that surround the sale of the product. As a result, prices are higher than they otherwise would be, too many resources are attracted into the retail trade and consumers who want the product must take (and pay for) the services also, whether they want them or not. The powers to make such practices illegal under the Restrictive Trade Practices Act are therefore to be welcomed. The practice will, however, not be eradicated either by voluntary agreement or by ministerial order, unless it is strictly enforced and all offenders prosecuted. If the practice is abolished and price-competition restored, the retail prices of those goods that were previously price-maintained will be lower, there will be fewer shops selling them and fewer people employed in doing so. Indeed, it is by driving the least efficient retailers out of business and reducing the numbers employed in supplying the ancillary services that consumers may not want, that price-competition increases the efficiency of retailers and probably of those who supply them.

If the Restrictive Trade Practices Act is forcefully applied, and all restrictions on competition effectively outlawed, and if as a consequence

price-competition becomes more widespread and intensive, then prices will probably be relatively lower than they are now. The striving between manufacturers which lowers prices may be called ' cut-throat ' competition, but it is no more cut-throat than a competitive examination. It may be called the restoration of the ' law of the jungle ' : this would be true if a manufacturer's success in price-competition depended on his teeth and claws. In fact, it depends on his abilities to organize his business efficiently. It might be argued that price-competition will ultimately harm consumers, for to maintain their competitive positions, some manufacturers may reduce the quality of their goods, and if some do all must, since bad products drive out good products even as bad money supplants good money. This argument takes an unnecessarily and probably unjustifiably pessimistic view of the discrimination and sophistication of consumers. Even if this view is correct, reductions in quality need not follow, for the remedy lies with the manufacturers themselves : if they could effectively prevent price-competition between themselves, then surely they can prevent competitive reductions in quality where price-competition is flourishing.

While most arguments against price-competition and the increased efficiency that it promotes are erroneous or confuse the issue by emotive terminology, there is one effect of such competition that must be faced, namely, unemployment. Restrictions on competition generally mean higher prices : the prices are higher not because profits are unreasonably high, but because costs of production are higher than they need be. To succeed when the restrictions are removed requires a reduction in costs. The main method by which costs can be reduced is by disemploying some labour and other resources and using what is left more efficiently. In general, what will happen is that those who worked in the least efficient firms—that is, those least capable of price-competition—are unemployed, and that more will be employed in the more efficient firms. And it is probable that the increased employment in the latter will not be sufficient to offset the reduced employment in the former. The net reduction in employment will be the smaller, the greater is the response of sales to the price reductions that accompany competition, for people will buy more of each good at lower prices. However, even a relatively small increase in unemployment may be thought undesirable. After all, the tariffs were initially imposed partly to increase employment in Irish industry : they were necessary because many Irish manufacturers through no fault of their own were relatively less efficient than their foreign competitors. The restoration of competition in those protected trades where it is now curbed would jeopardize only that part of the employment that the tariffs have created which is due, not to the relative inefficiency of Irish industry arising from circumstances beyond its control, but to

inefficiency that is of its own creation. The community must choose between the present situation and one in which prices are lower but rather fewer people are employed.

It is probable that the only circumstances, in which the effective use of the Restrictive Trade Practices Act might not promote efficiency, is where there is only one manufacturer of a product in the country. It is true that the Act may ensure that those who sell his product compete with one another, and by making him a 'common carrier' can ensure that he treats them all equally. It can ensure also that he takes no steps to prevent a new firm from being set up to compete with him. But if the size of the Irish market will only support one firm producing a particular article, the Act can do little to promote that firm's efficiency. The monopolist, as we have seen, can always make his profits appear to be reasonable, and price control is not an effective method of promoting his efficiency. In these circumstances, the only weapon remaining is a threatened or actual reduction in the tariff. Other incentive measures, such as a reduction in the profits taxes for each reduction in price, are likely to be ineffective, for no government department can police effectively the manner in which profits are calculated. Moreover, a reduction in the tariff is not an undesirable method of encouraging more efficient production: the State imposed the tariff in the first place, and it retains the right to reduce it, in the same way as it issued driving licenses and retains the right to revoke and suspend them. By revoking a driving licence the State admittedly disappoints the expectations of a man who bought a car on the strength of it. But this is a necessary accompaniment of a measure that is taken as a last resort to promote his efficiency as a driver. By reducing a tariff some of the expectations of a man who built a factory on the strength of it might not be fulfilled. But it need only be his unreasonable expectations that suffer, namely, his expectations that he may be less efficient than he could be. In the same way, and for the same reasons, a reduction in the tariff should be used as a last resort if it is felt that manufacturers are not observing the spirit of orders made under the Restrictive Trade Practices Act.

LOUDEN RYAN

# William Higgins, Chemist (1763-1825)

## Part III*

*by* THOMAS S. WHEELER, D.SC.
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### 6. Higgins's Residences

We know little of Higgins's residences in Dublin. When he returned from England in 1792 he had a room in the Apothecaries' Hall in Mary Street, but, as we have seen, he had to leave in 1795. The Dublin Directory for 1802 shows him among the staff of the Dublin Society and living at 6 Grafton Street, while in 1806 his address is given as College Green. A letter in the Minutes of the Linen Board shows that in March 1808 he was living at 71 Grafton Street ; he appears to have remained at this house until his death. He probably had rooms there, as the Directory gives a Richard Folds, Hosier, as occupant throughout. The number was changed to 75 in 1809.

Although he seems to have lived in rooms in Dublin, Higgins left a considerable amount of property when he died. In 1808 he took part in the purchase of a house in Leinster Street, Dublin, for some time the home of his friend Archibald Hamilton Rowan.[101] A deed in the Registry of Deeds, Dublin,[102] refers to the assignment of land (over 400 acres) near Ballyhaunis, Co. Mayo, by Andrew Higgins to his cousin-german, William Higgins, Professor of Chemistry, for the sum of £2000, the assignment to take effect after Andrew's death, which occurred about 1821. In a report (1821) of a committee appointed by the Royal Dublin Society to examine the practicability of permanently reclaiming bogs and waste lands, there is a letter (p. 37) from Higgins, written from 75 Grafton Street and dated 5 April 1820, in which he refers to experiments he had in hand on the reclamation of a bog on his estate near Ballyhaunis in Co. Mayo.

Finally in 1823 some two years before his death, Higgins purchased land in Queen's County (now Co. Leix), for £6,800.[103] All his property was left to his nephew Captain Charles Higgins, and then passed to Charles's daughters, Mary Jane Josephine O'Connor, Baroness von Haeseler, and Emma Julia, Mrs. Peel. The last of Higgins's property was sold by Mary and Emma in 1877.[104] (See Appendix, footnote 17.)

*Part I : Spring 1954, pp. 78–91 ; Part II : Summer 1954, pp. 207–218.

7. Personal References to Higgins in Contemporary Publications

There are a few personal references to Higgins in contemporary publications. Perhaps the most striking is that of the Irish novelist, Lady Morgan.[105] In her "Book of the Boudoir" published in 1829, she refers to a tea-party, *circa* 1806, in Kirwan's house, at which she was present. Higgins and Archibald Hamilton Rowan were also guests. She writes (p. 75) of ". . . the good and simple Professor Higgins, with his *air de prêtre*, the very *beau-idéal* of a catholic curate from his own wild native district of Erris," and also (p. 76) "As soon as Mr Kirwan had settled the constitution of acids with Professor Higgins, he turned to me, with an air of great gallantry, and said, 'Let us now revert to a sweeter subject.'"

Higgins's appearance seems to have belied his nature, for, as we have seen above, his hasty temper often brought him into trouble. Isaac Weld,[88] giving evidence in 1836, before a Select Committee on the Royal Dublin Society referred (Report, pp. 20, 36) to Higgins as refractory, as attempting to set the Society at defiance and as occasionally capricious and captious. Another member of the Society, Dr W. Harty,[106] stated to the same Committee (Report, p. 238), which met in London, that ". . . when Mr Higgins was appointed professor of chemistry, the science was so little known in Ireland that you might as well have sought for a magician as a chemist, and Mr Higgins was considered a paragon, which he certainly then was, not only in Ireland but in this country." Kirwan[56] refers to Higgins's ability in chemistry. Lord Tullamore, afterwards Earl of Charleville,[107] in a note[108] on the analysis of turf ashes mentions a saline mass which he submitted "to the examination of my ingenious and learned friend Mr Higgins," who "could not detect a particle of any kind of disengaged *alkali*, though he sought it by some of the nicest tests of modern chemistry."

Mrs Hamilton Rowan[109] writing in March 1799 to her husband in exile in America states ". . . of late I have been much taken up in attending chemical lectures, and reading sufficient to make me understand them, and from this I often find entertainment when lighter amusements have failed. Until I began I did not know how pleasant a study it was, or that it took in so much of natural philosophy," Rowan wrote[110] on 4 June 1800 from Wilmington: "I have put up some trifling pieces of petrification and spar, etc. for your friend Mr. Higgins; I will send him a specimen of the soap-stone, which from its extreme softness when taken out of the quarry, and hardening afterwards in the air, is much used. There is a kind of beetle here, more powerful, and quicker in its operation than the Spanish flies; he shall have some of these, as also some of the locusts which have appeared this year, and are said to sink in the earth for seven or eight years, and to be as long rising. There are few persons here to assist me in the collection, and you know I am

no naturalist ; but trifling as these things may be, they will mark a wish to please the gentleman from whom you have received attentions which diverted your thoughts from scenes in which you have had no pleasant part to act."

Mrs Rowan wrote[111] on 16 August 1800 with reference to Rowan's return to Europe : " I have before said I am promised letters of recommendation, as soon as it is known where we mean to live ; in what style they will be I cannot say, but I think the Chancellor will do the best he can for us ; and from men of science here I shall have letters to men of the same sort in Germany. Ten thousand thanks for your thinking of my good friend Higgins."

Thomas Egan, M.D., M.R.I.A. in a paper on the " Nature of Gravelly and Calculus Concretions in the Human Subject " writes of " our own learned and ingenious professor, Mr William Higgins," and again (p. 274) of " My ingenious friend, and master in chemistry, Mr Wm. Higgins."[112]

Finally, we may recall that Sullivan[2] writing a little over twenty years after Higgins's death stated " William Higgins appears to have been a man of peculiar habits, possessing very great abilities, and singularly comprehensive views upon science, but totally deficient in energy, and in the ambition of working out to the end any happy ideas in science which might strike him, and in the peculiar tact of putting his opinions forward in such a manner as to call immediate attention to them, without which the most important discoveries may remain for years neglected and barren. He was incapable of making his age comprehend him. His style of lecturing was very quaint, and a number of laughable anecdotes are still remembered of circumstances the result of this quaintness, but which our space, and our respect for his memory, forbid us dwelling on."

## 8. Higgins and the Royal Irish Academy

Higgins became a Member of the Royal Irish Academy on 22 March 1794. He was elected to the Council and the Committee of Science in 1796–98, 1800, 1802, 1804, 1806, 1809, 1814 and 1820–22.[113] His attendances at the meetings of the Council and of the Committee of Science were irregular, averaging about 30 per cent. In these years the Academy went through a difficult period particularly after the Union, when many of its Members were frequently out of the country. The Committee of Science ceased to function in 1810 and was not revived until 1838. Higgins was not prominent at any of the meetings, at least his name seldom appears in the minutes. In 1800 he reported unfavourably on a project which involved the use of common heath plants in tanning. In 1801 he presented a copy of his course in chemistry for the year 1802,[93] and in 1814 a copy of his book on the *Atomic Theory*.[13]

He was an original member of the Royal Irish Academy Dinner Club which was founded in 1816, and in the period covered by the extant minute book, 1816–1821, attended some 70 per cent. of the dinners, five of which were held annually. He was also, from its inception, a member of the Kirwanian Society, founded in Dublin in 1812,[114] in memory of Kirwan, for the cultivation of chemistry, mineralogy and other branches of natural history. The Hon George Knox,[115] was president of the Society and one of the vice-presidents was Dr Robert Blake, who was married to Anne, elder daughter of Bryan Higgins.[116] Bryan himself was an honorary member of the Society. The Society is not listed in the Dublin Directory after 1819—apparently it did not last long.

## 9. Higgins and the Royal Society

Higgins was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on 12 June 1806. In his certificate of election, which is preserved in the archives of the Society, he is described as " Professor of Chemistry to the Dublin Society. A gentleman distinguished for his knowledge in chemistry and other branches of natural philosophy and author of a work on the new system of chemistry and of a treatise on bleaching."[79]

His proposers were Charles Hatchett,[117] the Hon George Knox,[115] Richard Lovell Edgeworth,[39] Humphry Davy,[118] and A. G. Eckhardt.[119] Hitherto it has been thought that Higgins never signed the obligation in the Charter Book of the Society ; actually he did so and, as stated above, obtained admittance on 1 May 1817. The reading of his paper on the analysis of the human calculus to the Society on 3 April 1788 has already been mentioned. This paper was communicated by Dr David Pitcairn, F.R.S.[120]

## 10. Papers published by Higgins

Higgins published only eight papers in the years in which he practised chemistry. Five[121] like his *Atomic Theory*[13] were polemical, dealing with his claims to have propounded a chemical atomic theory in his *Comparative View*[13] ; one was an extract from his essay on bleaching.[82] His two experimental papers related to two meteorites which fell in Ireland. The first[122] published in 1811, gave an analysis of a meteor which fell in Co. Tipperary in August 1810. In 1818 he wrote a second paper[123] dealing with a shower of meteorites which fell in County Limerick in September 1813. He attempted to explain the heating of meteors in falling, by assuming accumulation of electricity collected in moving through the atmosphere.[124] Reference may also be made to the account

of his work on the analysis of the human calculus which he read to the Royal Society and printed as an Appendix to the *Comparative View* (43–45).

## 11. Conclusion

Such then was the career of William Higgins, who, many think, anticipated Dalton in the application of an atomic theory to the explanation of chemical phenomena. His name is distinguished in chemical circles, yet in Ireland his memory has died. His grave is unknown. Circulars to all of the name of Higgins listed in Republic Directories and letters to newspapers published in the twenty-six counties brought no information to supplement that from available documents. There is no explanation of why, having published when he was 26 a book containing ideas in advance of his time, he wrote nothing further on the subject for 20 years. He then attempted in five papers[121] and his *Atomic Theory*[13] to sustain his claim to have anticipated Dalton who applied the atomic theory to chemistry in the early years of the nineteenth century. His attempt was unsuccessful and he died a disappointed man.

In recent years there has been a growing appreciation among chemists of the value of Higgins's contribution to chemistry. It is difficult, however, to assess his status in relation to the useful application of the atomic theory to chemical phenomena. Since 1814 many people, fifty at least,[125] have written to dispute the subject, yet the controversy between " Daltonians " and " Higginsians " flares up at intervals and dies down still unextinguished. The question is complex and cannot be considered without technical detail not suitable for a general biography. The author hopes to publish an extended discussion later. Briefly it may be said that Higgins would appear to have some claim to be the originator of the chemical atomic theory. It was Dalton, nevertheless, who, unaware of the work of Higgins, formulated the theory so that it became generally acceptable to chemists. Perhaps justice would be done to both men if the theory were called the Higgins-Dalton theory. But it is probably too late to put back the hands of the clock.

T. S. Wheeler

# Notes

[101] Deed No. 636/45/435,583 in the Registry of Deeds, Dublin : see also Deed No. 1853/22/21 for the sale of the house by Baroness von Haeseler and Emma Julia Higgins. (Appendix). Archibald Hamilton Rowan (1751–1834), was a distinguished Irish patriot who as an United Irishman, was exiled from Ireland from 1794–1806. (For an account of his life see Harold Nicholson, " The Desire to Please," London : 1945 ; see also section 7 below).

[102] No. 733/506/500,241, dated October 22, 1818.

[103] Deed No. 787/343/532,478, dated October 30, 1823, in the Registry of Deeds, Dublin.

[104] Information obtained in the Office of the Land Commission, Dublin (Anthony Blak Estate, 1895 ; Rec. No. 1685 ; Box No. 243). The assistance of Messrs Charles J. Redd and Son, Solicitors, Dublin, is gratefully acknowledged.

[105] Sydney, Lady Morgan, née Owenson (1783?–1851) was, in her day, a well-know novelist. She is best remembered for " The Wild Irish Girl," 1806. The tea-party to which she refers took place soon after Hamilton Rowan's return from exile. (See footnote 101 above)

[106] Dr William Harty (1781–1854), was physician to the Dublin prisons. (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

[107] Charles William Bury, F.R.S. (1764–1835), became Baron Tullamore in 1797, Viscount Charleville in 1800 and Earl of Charleville in 1806. He served as President of the Royal Irish Academy (1812–1822), and as Vice-President of the Royal Dublin Society from 1803–1822.

[108] *Trans. Royal Irish Academy*, 1799, *8*, 137.

[109] *Autobiography of Archibald Hamilton Rowan* (Dublin, 1840), pp. 337–338.

[110] *Autobiography*, pp. 348–349.

[111] *Autobiography*, pp. 339–340.

[112] *Trans. Royal Irish Academy*, 1805, *10*, 235.

[113] By an error his name is given in the minutes as Robert Higgins, but his signature is opposite the corresponding member number in the Academy Roll. The Council of the Royal Irish Academy is divided into a Committee of Science and a Committee of Polite Literature. A number of authors following Meldrum (*New Ireland Review*), 1919—10, *32*, 352 have stated, incorrectly, that Higgins was on the Council of the Royal Irish Academy from 1796 to his death.

[114] The Dublin Directory for 1814 says that the Kirwanian Society was founded in February, 1812 (Kirwan died in June) for the cultivation of chemistry, mineralogy and other branches of natural history. It met once or twice monthly from November to May. Volume 2 of the minutes, preserved in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, covers the period from March 8, 1815 to February 11, 1818. The Society had some 50 members and papers were read at the meetings. The pages of the Minute Book not used by the Society are filled with details of experiments on illumination written in the 1830's by Michael Donovan (1791–1876), Secretary and Treasurer of the Kirwanian Society. He was a doctor and a chemist and published many papers in chemistry and physics. He taught chemistry at the Apothecaries' Hall, and was its Governor in 1829.

[115] The Hon George Knox (1765–1827), F.R.S. (for scientific papers see Royal Society list), was member for Dublin University in the Irish and Imperial parliaments, and was vice-president of the Royal Dublin Society from 1820–1827. (Information kindly supplied by Professor Dudley Edwards and Mr Thomas P. O'Neill). His sons, George James Knox and Thomas Knox, suffered damage to health attempting to isolate fluorine. (See for example, *Phil. Mag.*, 1836, *9*, 107 ; *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, 1838, *18*, 127 ; *Compt. rend.*, 1846, *23*, 960 ; 1847, *24*, 434 ; M. E. Weeks, " Discovery of the Elements," Easton, Pa., 1945).

[116] See Appendix, footnote 11.

[117] Charles Hatchett (1765–1847), F.R.S., was a distinguished chemist of the time. He discovered the element niobium. (*Dict. Nat. Biog*; M. E. Weeks, " Discovery of the Elements," Easton, Pa., 1945).

[118] Davy who, as mentioned above, had lectured to the Dublin Society in 1810 and 1811, was the first (*Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.*, 1811, Pt. i, 15), to draw attention to Higgins' claim to be the originator of the " chemical " atomic theory.

[119] Anthony George Eckhardt's (of The Hague in Holland) certificate of election to the Royal Society dated June 2, 1774, states he had " distinguished himself by some Ingenious Inventions of great publick Utility."

[120] Dr David Pitcairn (1749–1809), became physician to St Bartholomew's Hospital in 1780. He was a subscriber to Bryan Higgins' *Society for Philosophical and Experiments Conversations* which met in 1794 (see footnote 53). William Higgins seems to have known, in addition to Pitcairn, the following physicians attached to this hospital : Dr J. C. Caulet (footnote 24) ; Dr W. Austin (footnote 25) ; Dr James Haworth (footnote 35). Dr Gweneth Whitteridge, Archivist to St Bartholomew's Hospital, has kindly searched the records of the hospital but has found no reference to either Bryan or William Higgins. Dr D. C. Martin, Assistant-Secretary of the Royal Society has kindly had examined the Indexes of the letters and papers of the Society for the period 1790–1825. No reference to correspondence with William Higgins has been found.

[121] *Philosophical Magazine*, 1816, *48*, 363–371 and 408–417 ; 1817, *49*, 241–250 ; 1818, *1*, 81–91 ; 161–172 ; 1819, *53*, 401–410.

[122] *Philosophical Magazine*, 1811, *38*, 263–268 ; *Dublin Society's Minutes*, 1811–12, *passim*.

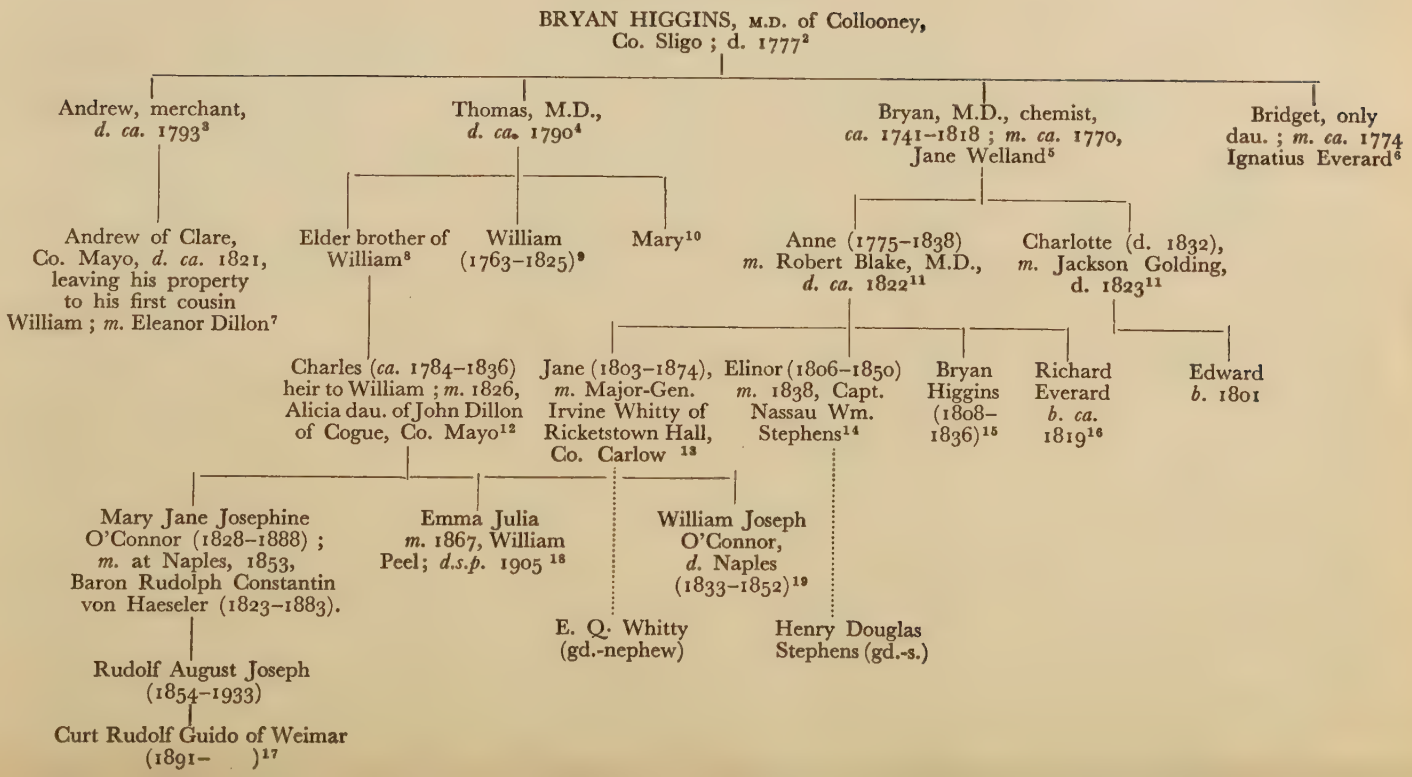
[123] *Philosophical Magazine*, 1818, *51*, 355–358. See H. J. Seymour, *Proc. Roy. Dublin Soc.*, 947, *24*, 157–164.

[124] *Atomic Theory*, 1814, p. 33 ; *Philosophical Magazine*, 1818, *51*, 357.

[125] The following references to the work of William Higgins gave been traced and examined, nany with the help of Professor J. R. Partington : *Monthly Review*, 1789, *81*, 197 ; *Analytical Review*, 1789, *4*, 177 ; *Critical Review*, 1790, *70*, 545 ; *English Review*, 1790, *15*, 188 ; *Monthly Review*, 1800, *31*, 442 ; *Critical Review*, 1801, *32*, 222 ; William Henry, *Epitome of Chemistry*, 2nd ed., 1801, 65 ; 3rd ed., 1805, 163 ; 4th ed., 1806, 156. The *Epitome* then became the *Elements of Experimental Chemistry*. References to Higgins occur in, *e.g.*, 6th ed., 1810, *1*, 422 ; 9th ed., 1823, *1*, 403 ; 10th ed., 1826, *1*, 413 ; 11th (last) ed., 1829, *1*, 44, 432 ; Humphry Davy, *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.*, 1811, Pt. 1, 15 ; *Elements of Chemical Philosophy*, 1812, *1*, Pt. 1, 107; Thomas Thomson, *Annals of Philosophy*, 1813, *2*, 32 ; Jacob J. Berzelius, *Annals of Philosophy*, 1813, *2*, 445 ; T. Thomson, *Annals of Philosophy*, 1813, *2*, 445 ; John Nash, *Phil. Mag.*, 1814, *43*, 54 ; T. Thomson, *Annals of Philosophy*, 1814, *3*, 329 ; W. H. Wollaston, *Phil. Trans. Roy. Soc.*, 1814, *5* ; *Ann Chim.*, 1814, *90*, 138 ; William Crane, *Phil. Mag.*, 1814, *43*, 113 ; T. Thomson, *Annals of Philosophy*, 1814, *4*, 52 ; H. G. de Claubry, *Journal de Physique*, 1817, *84*, 392 ; *Phil. Mag.*, 1817, *50*, 406 ; James Watt, *Annals of Philosophy*, *1817*, *9*, 407 ; *Monthly Review*, 1817, *82*, 379, (the copy in the National Library of Ireland is annotated by Higgins) ; John Murray, *Elements of Chemical Science*, 1818, 28 ; *Weekly Freeman*, 16 January 1819 ; *Freeman's Journal*, 22 January 1819 ; *Dublin Magazine*, 1819, *1*, 191 ; 1820, *2*, 110 ; Klaproth and Wolff, *Supplemente zu dem chemischen Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1819, *4*, 134 ; Meinecke, *Journal für Chemie und Physik*, 1819, *26*, 296 ; John Murray, *System of Chemistry*, 4th ed., 1819, *1*, 127 ; Abraham Rees, *The New Cyclopaedia*, 1819, *28*, article on " Proportions, Definite in Chemistry "; *34*, article on " Theory, Atomic in Chemistry " ; William J. MacNeven (see footnote 93), *Annals of Philosophy*, 1820, *16*, 195, 289, 338 ; *Journal de Physique*, 1821, *92*, 274, 376, 444 ; Samuel Parkes, *The Chemical Catechism*, 10th ed., 1822, 232 ; *A Catechism of Chemistry* (revised by William Barker), 1837, 65 ; *The Chemist*, 1825, *2*, 55 ; Humphry Davy, *Discourses to the Royal Society* on 30 November 1825 and 1826 ; Edward Turner, *Elements of Chemistry*, 1st ed., 1827, 132 ; 3rd ed., 1831, 179 ; Thomas J. Graham, *Chemical Catechism*, 1829, 35 ; Charles G. Daubeny, *Introduction to the Atomic Theory*, 1st ed., 1831, 33 ; 2nd ed., 1850, 23 ; H. Kopp, *Geschichte der Chemie*, 1843 1847, *passim* ; William K. Sullivan, *Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medicine*, 1849, *8*, 465 ; William C. Henry, *Memoirs of the Life and Scientific Researches of John Dalton* ; London The Cavendish Society, 1854, 75 ; W. Barker, *Journal of the Royal Dublin Society*, 1856 7, *1*, 421 ; Robert A. Smith, *Memoirs of the Literary and Philisophical Society of Manchester* 1856, *13*, 1 ; George Wilson, *Religio Chemici*, 1862, 318 ; Sir John F. W. Herschel, *Familiar Lectures on Scientific Subjects*, 1866, 453 ; A. Wurtz's *Dictionnaire de Chemie*, Paris, 1868, *1*, 75 ; H. Kopp, *Die Entwickelung der Chemie in der neureren Zeit*, 1873, *passim* ; M. M. P. Muir, *A Treatise on the Principles of Chemistry*, 1884, 8 ; R. Jagnaux, *Histoire de la Chemie*, 1891, *1*, 317 ; E. von. Meyer, *History of Chemistry*, 1891, 184 ; T. E. Thorpe, *Humphry Davy, Poet and Philosopher*, 1896, 146 ; J. W. Mellor and E. J. Russell, *J. Chem. Soc.*, 1902, *81*, 1273 ; A. N. Meldrum, *Brit. Assoc. Report*, 1908, *78*, 668 ; *Memoirs of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester*, 1908, *52*, No. 10, 9 ; 1910 11, *55*, No. 4, 8, 14 ; *New Ireland Review*, 1909 10, *32*, 275, 350 ; Roscoe and Schorlemmer, *Treatise on Chemistry*, 1920, *1*, 35 ; E. F. Smith, *Old Chemistries*, New York, 1927 ; White, *Science Progress*, 1929, *24*, 300 ; R. T. Gunther, *Notes and Queries*, 1929, *157*, 421 ; J. Reilly and D. T. MacSweeney, *Sci. Proc. Roy. Dublin Soc.*, 1929, *19*, 139 ; J. E. Marsh, *The Origins of Growth and Chemical Science*, 1929, 77 ; A. Wolf, *Outline of Modern Knowledge*, 1931, 40 ; R. T. Gunther, *Early Science at Oxford*, 1937, *11*, 254 ; J. R. Partington, *A Short History of Chemistry*, *1937*, 166, 178 ; *Annals of Science*, 1939, *4*, 269 ; Thomas Dillon, *Studies*, 1939, *28*, 51 ; Edward R. Atkinson, *Journal of Chemical Education*, 1940, *17*, 3 ; D. O'Raghallaigh, *Three Centuries of Irish Chemists*, Cork, 1941, 6 ; J. R. Partington, *Phil. Mag. Comm. Number*, 1948, 63 ; R. Hooykaas, *Chemisch Weekblad*, 1948, *44*, 407 ; J. R. Partington, *Annals of Science*, 1949, *6*, 126 ; Frederick Soddy, *The Story of Atomic Energy*, London, 1949, *passim* ; Leonard K. Nash, *The Atomic-Molecular Theory*, Harvard, 1950, 14 ; T. S. Wheeler, *Studies*, 1950, *39*, 6 ; J. R. Partington, *Nature*, 1951, *167*, 120, 735 ; F. Soddy, *Nature*, 1951, 167, 734 ; T. S. Wheeler, *Endeavour*, 1952, 11 ; *The Dict. Nat. Biog.* has articles on Dalton and Higgins.

# Appendix

## THE HIGGINS FAMILY.[1]


BRYAN HIGGINS, M.D. of Collooney, Co. Sligo ; d. 1777[2]
Andrew, merchant, d. ca. 1793[3]
Thomas, M.D., d. ca. 1790[4]
Bryan, M.D., chemist, ca. 1741–1818 ; m. ca. 1770, Jane Welland[5]
Bridget, only dau. ; m. ca. 1774 Ignatius Everard[6]
Andrew of Clare, Co. Mayo, d. ca. 1821, leaving his property to his first cousin William ; m. Eleanor Dillon[7]
Elder brother of William[8]
William (1763–1825)[9]
Mary[10]
Anne (1775–1838) m. Robert Blake, M.D., d. ca. 1822[11]
Charlotte (d. 1832), m. Jackson Golding, d. 1823[11]
Charles (ca. 1784–1836) heir to William ; m. 1826, Alicia dau. of John Dillon of Cogue, Co. Mayo[12]
Jane (1803–1874), m. Major-Gen. Irvine Whitty of Ricketstown Hall, Co. Carlow [13]
Elinor (1806–1850) m. 1838, Capt. Nassau Wm. Stephens[14]
Bryan Higgins (1808–1836)[15]
Richard Everard b. ca. 1819[16]
Edward b. 1801
Mary Jane Josephine O'Connor (1828–1888) ; m. at Naples, 1853, Baron Rudolph Constantin von Haeseler (1823–1883).
Emma Julia m. 1867, William Peel; d.s.p. 1905 [18]
William Joseph O'Connor, d. Naples (1833–1852)[19]
E. Q. Whitty (gd.-nephew)
Henry Douglas Stephens (gd.-s.)
Rudolf August Joseph (1854–1933)
Curt Rudolf Guido of Weimar (1891– )[17]

# Footnotes to Appendix

[1] This table is based on information supplied by the Irish genealogists Mr Edward Keane, Mr J. C. T. MacDonagh, a descendant of the elder Bryan Higgins, and Dr R. C. Simington, and on material obtained from the Irish Public Record Office and the Registry of Deeds. Information has also been supplied by the Public Record Office and the War Office, London, by Mr Edmund Nicholls, London, and by H. M. Consul-General, Naples. Many too numerous to mention, including various solicitors in Dublin, have also helped. Herr Curt von Haeseler of Weimar, who was traced by a letter to the *Stadverwaltungsdirektor* of Weimar, has been most courteous in answering queries. Legal documents in Dublin had shown that Mary Jane Higgins had become Baroness von Haesler of Weimar. The author's best thanks are due to all those mentioned.

[2] The name of Bryan Higgins disappeared in 1777 from the rent-roll (Mss No. 2175 and 3050–3053, Nat. Library, Dublin), of the Cooper family, the landlords of Collooney, and was replaced by the " Widow Higgins." Andrew Higgins is shown as tenant from March 1789 ; in 1793 the property is described as " formerly Andrew Higgins " and the phrase " late Higgins " persists for the plot or garden involved up to 1813. Mr James Higgins of Dublin who comes from Collooney, states that a plot in Collooney is still called "Higgins's Gardens."

*Faulkner's Dublin Journal* for 7-10 March 1778, refers to the death of Bryan Higgins, M.D., of Collooney, Co. Sligo, at an advanced age. There is another reference to Bryan Higgins in Deed No. 399/56/262,861, of 24 January 1774 (Registry of Deeds, Dublin), a deed of intermarriage between Bridget, only daughter of Bryan Higgins of Collooney, " doctor of physik," and Ignatius Everard of Neenanagh, Co. Mayo.

O'Rorke (*History of the Parishes of Ballysadare and Kilrarnet, Co. Sligo*, (1878), refers (p. 51), to the opinion of the celebrated Dr. Higgins of the last century on the salubrity of the Collooney climate ; later (p. 79) he states that " In the house now occupied by Dominick Brennan, resided, a century ago, Dr Higgins, the most distinguished physician of Connaught, or, perhaps, of Ireland, in his day."

[3] Andrew Higgins signed the Catholic Qualification Rolls at Collooney in 1778. These Rolls, set up in 1774, contained the names of Catholics who swore loyalty to the Crown, and were then relieved of some of the restrictions imposed by the penal laws, for example, they obtained rights in regard to the enjoyment and disposition of land. Lists of those who signed the Rolls are preserved in the Public Record Office, Dublin. Andrew had, probably, to sign on receipt of property on his father's death.

[4] Thomas Higgins, M.D., signed the Catholic Qualification Rolls at Collooney in 1782. His name appears on the Intestacy Index for 1790, in the Public Record Office, Dublin. (See footnote 10, below). Foster's *Alumni Oxoniensis* (see footnote 13, main text), gives Thomas Higgins as " gent " of Co. Mayo. Sadleir in the preface to Burtchaell and Sadleir's *Alumni Dublinenses* says that Foster always describes the father of each student as residing at what was merely the son's birthplace, and that this practice has caused much confusion.

It has not been found possible to discover where Bryan the elder and Thomas qualified in medicine. Neither is on the graduate rolls of Cambridge, Dublin, Edinburgh or Oxford, nor on W. Munk's *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians, London* ; these records are, however, incomplete in some instances. (See footnote 5 below relative to Bryan the younger).

[5] For an account of the life of the younger Bryan Higgins see Sullivan (footnote 2, main text), Meldrum (*New Ireland Review*, 1909-10, *32*, 275), and the *Dictionary of National Biography*. In addition to the material given in these references, the following information obtained from the University of Leyden with the help of Drs G. van der Lee and W. P. Jorissen, and of the Secretary to the Curators of the University, may be of interest (see also footnote 5 to the main test). Bryan Higgins, " Hibernus " enrolled at the University of Leyden on 5 October 1765, at the age of 24. He passed the medical examination on November 2 of the same year and ten days later he defended the following seven theses to qualify for the degree of M.D. : (1) Venesection is seldom suitable for the treatment of fever in large cities ; (2) putrefaction involves a loss of fixed air ; restoration of the air removes it ; (3) venereal disease can be cured without salivation ; (4) there are as yet no remedies to break up stone in the bladder ; (5) the juice of millipedes has no definite healing properties, apart from the effects which the mind can cause, when it is moved by something revolting, disgusting and horrible ; (6) alkaline salts are septic inside, but antiseptic outside the human body ; (7) in practice simple remedies are preferable to complex. (The author is indebted to Professor J. J. O'Meara for the translation of this and other material from the Latin).

It will be noted that, as Meldrum (*loc. cit.*) points out, Bryan Higgins did not study medicine at Leyden ; he came there merely to obtain a degree. It is not known where he received his medical training, though Priestley (*Philosophical Empiricism*, 1775, p. 43 ; this volume is polemical,

attacking Bryan Higgins) states that Bryan Higgins's mistaken view that fixed air consists of common air and phlogiston were obtained from Dr Cullen. This suggests that Bryan Higgins may have received his medical education in Edinburgh, where William Cullen (1710–1790), was appointed joint professor of chemistry in 1756.

An interesting reference to Bryan Higgins's lectures occurs in a letter dated 1 November, 1791, from Robert Howard to his son Luke Howard (1772–1864 ; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*) ; the author's thanks are due to Mr G. E. Howard of " Howards of Ilford," for information in regard to this letter.

There is in the library of the British Museum (Mss No. 38221/f/236), a letter dated 25 February, 1787, from Bryan Higgins to Lord Hawkesbury saying that he had " something of moment to communicate to his lordship, relative to the Treaty with France," and asking for an interview. He mentions the Earl of Stanhope as supporting this application. Charles Jenkinson, Earl of Liverpool and Baron Hawkesbury (1727–1808), held a number of ministerial offices, among them the presidency of the board of trade (1786). Charles Stanhope, third Earl of Harrington (1753–1816), politician and man of science (F.R.S., 1772), constructed two calculating machines and invented a printing press and the lens which bears his name. He was a member of Bryan Higgins's *Society for Philosophical Experiments and Conversations* which met in 1794. Lady Hester Stanhope was his daughter.

Sullivan (footnote 2, main text), says Bryan was in Russia in the service of the Empress the Great between 1780 and 1790. There is no reference in the *Proceedings of the St. Petersburg Science Academy* for 1780–1790 to Bryan being present at any of the meetings. Mr. John Jordan who has made a special study of Irishmen who served in Scandanavian countries has kindly had a search made in the State Library at Helsingfors which has much Russian material, without result. An enquiry through the Soviet Embassy in London has also been fruitless.

Sir William Ramsay (*Life and Letters of Joseph Black, M.D.*, 1918, p. 66), says that Bryan Higgins in 1781 came near to forestalling Leblanc in the discovery of a process for converting sodium chloride into sodium carbonate.

[6] A study of the *Alumni Dublinenses* shows that Ignatius Everard, merchant, of Co. Sligo, had at least three sons, Patrick (b. 1775), Bryan Higgins, gentleman farmer, and Richard, a barrister, (b. 1781). Bryan Higgins Everard had two sons who went to Trinity College, Dublin ; Ignatius Houston (b. *ca.* 1809), and Richard Houston (b. *ca.* 1811). Support is lent to the relationships shown in the table by that fact that one of Anne Blake's (née Higgins) sons had Everard as a Christian name. We know that Anne was a daughter of the younger Bryan (footnote 11 below).

[7] See footnote 102, main text. The Cooper papers in the National Library, Dublin, contain a list of freeholders dated 1796 (Mss. 3136). This list includes the name of Andrew Higgins of Brooklawn, Co. Mayo. He is also referred to in Deeds Nos. 561/306/377, 334, 12 July, 1804, and 576/422/392,842, January 16, 1806. Andrew, then of Clare, Co. Mayo, died about 1821 (list of Wills and Intestacies, Public Record office, Dublin, 1821). The names of Ignatius and Bryan Everard (see preceding footnote) occur in the deeds in conjunction with that of Andrew. Apart from the land he inherited from Andrew, William, in 1823, bought land to the value of £6,800 in Queen's County (now Co. Leix). See footnote 103, main text.

[8] The existence of this elder brother is postulated because Charles, William Higgins's nephew (see footnote 12 below), who was born about 1784, would seem to have been too old to be the son of a brother younger than William.

[9] The date of William's birth is fixed as 1762–63 by the entry in Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (see footnote 13, main text). He was 23 when he matriculated on 6 October, 1786.

[10] Betham in his abstracts of Administrations (in the Public Record Office, Dublin), gives Robert Harmon, the husband of Mary, daughter of Thomas Higgins, M.D., as Administrator of the estate of Thomas Higgins. The date of the grant is 30 November, 1790.

[11] Bryan Higgins's will (Somerset House, London), besides indicating the date of his marriage, shows that Anne Blake and Charlotte Golding, were his daughters. There are abstracts of their wills in the Public Record Office, Dublin. Anne is buried in the Blake family grave in Mount Jerome Cemetery, Dublin. William left £100 each to Anne and Charlotte (Deeds Nos. 816/303/549, 838 and 819/40/551, 375, 20 July, 1826, Registry of Deeds, Dublin).

Robert Blake, Anne's husband, was a distinguished Dublin dentist who in 1821 became State Dentist. He was vice-president of the Kirwanian Society (see footnote 114, main text). His thesis for the degree of M.D. (Edinburgh, 1798), on the structure and formation of the teeth, was published in an enlarged form in Dublin in 1801, and was regarded as the best work on the subject of the period in which it was written. The work is dedicated to Bryan Higgins. In the preface Blake states that the anatomical preparations were made in Dublin in 1795. (See *History of the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland* by Cameron, 1886 ; pp. 49, 106).

[12] Charles Higgins's relationship to William is shown by a Minute of the Council of the Royal Dublin Society, dated May 9, 1822, thanking Captain Higgins, nephew of Professor Higgins, for the gift of a packet of rare foreign seeds. Charles was 19 when he was

commissioned in the York Rangers in July, 1803. When the regiment was disbanded, he was posted in 1805 to the Royal Africa Corps as lieutenant. However, he wisely transferred to the 46th Foot (South Devonshire Regiment), otherwise he would have had to go to West Africa, in those days almost certain death. During Charles's period of service, the 46th were in the West Indies (1809–10), New South Wales and Tasmania (1813–17), and in India (1817–23). (This information was supplied by the War Office and the Public Record Office, London ; see also J. J. Crook's *Historical Records of the Royal Africa Corps*, 1925). Charles was married on May 10, 1826 (*Freeman's Journal*, 11 May, 1826), by Dr. Daniel Murray, Archbishop of Dublin ; he died in Dublin on 8 May, 1836 (*Freeman's Journal*, 14 May, 1836). An abstract of his will, which was dated 28 April, 1836, is in the Public Record Office, Dublin. The Honourable George Knox (see footnote 115, main text), was a trustee of Charles's marriage settlement (Deed No. 813/479/548,215, 9 May, 1826 ; Registry of Deeds, Dublin).

[13] The records available show that Robert and Anne Blake had five daughters and at least two sons. Jane Whitty (née Blake) is buried with her husband in the Blake family grave in Mount Jerome, Dublin. Major-General Whitty (1788–1855), fought as a captain at Waterloo and was later Governor of Malta. Mr E. Q. Whitty of Bedford, grand-nephew of the Major-General, who was traced through legal records in Dublin, has kindly supplied information about this branch of the family. There remains no tradition of the Higgins connection.

[14] Bryan Higgins's grand-daughter, Elinor Stephens, née Blake, was the source of much of Sullivan's information (footnote 2, main text), about the Higgins family. Her will, which is available in the Public Record Office, Dublin (Reference P.C. 492 ; 1A/24/21) is, as she left numerous legacies, a guide to her relations. Her husband, Captain Nassau William Stephens, was born at Stockton-on-Tees on 3 January, 1807. He served in the 94th Regiment from November 8, 1827, until he sold out on 7 June, 1838, shortly before his marriage to Elinor. They lived at 12 Holles Street, Dublin, until her death in 1850. He then returned to England, and was appointed captain in the 2nd Cheshire Militia on 30 December, 1854. He resigned on 30 January, 1861, and became Adjutant of the H.M. Lancashire Rifle Volunteers. He died in Preston on July 9, 1868. There is an abstract of his will in the Public Record Office, Dublin. (Information supplied by the War Office and the Public Record Office, London, by Messrs H. T. Dix and Sons, Solicitors, Dublin, and by Mr H. D. Stephens, grandson of Captain Stephens).

[15] There is a reference to the will of Bryan Higgins Blake in the Public Record Office, Dublin. His approximate date of birth is given by his age of entry to Trinity College, Dublin. (*Alumni Dublinenses*).

[16] Richard Everard Blake matriculated at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1837, at the age of of 18. (*Alumni Dublinenses*). His sister Elinor Stephens (footnote 14 above), left him a miniature of her grandfather, Bryan Higgins, possibly one to which reference was made by Sullivan. (footnote 2, main text). Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* gives Richard Everard Blake, third son of Richard Everard Blake of Llanl-yan, Carmarthen, as matriculating at Magdalen Hall on 13 April, 1872, at the age of 21. No will of Richard Everard Blake has been traced in the Irish, English or Welsh probate records, and the whereabouts of the miniature remains unknown. Sullivan states that it was painted by the Irish miniature painter John Comerford (*ca.* 1762–1832), but it is not given in the list of known works of this artist.

[17] The genealogy of the von Hacseler family is given in the German publication *Brief Adel.* The author's thanks are due to Mr. G. J. Bernfeld who consulted the publication in the Vienna State Library. Mary Jane's date of birth is given in her marriage certificate as 14 October, 1831, but as she was baptized in St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, on 25 September, 1828, she seems to have subtracted a few years from her age. Herr Curt von Haeseler of Weimar, grandson of Mary Jane Higgins, kindly loaned family photographs, some of which were taken in Dublin. He also supplied information in regard to his grandmother and her sister Emma Julia Peel. It should be mentioned that the Baroness von Haeseler visited Ireland about 1853, and in 1876-77 to dispose of the Higgins land in Co. Mayo and Queen's County (Co. Leix). Information was supplied by Messrs. C. J. Reddy and Sons, Solicitors, Dublin, and by the Land Commission, Dublin. Deeds No. 1854/20/202, 9 July, 1853, and 1854/20/203, 10 August, 1854, in the Registry of Deeds, Dublin, relate to these lands. The latter document gives the date of William Higgins's will as 28 April, 1825. See footnotes 100 and 104.

[18] See " Burke's Landed Gentry," 1939, p. 1780. Mssrs Maxwell, Weldon and Co., Solicitors, Dublin, have a copy of the marriage settlement of William Peel and Emma Julia Higgins. Her will was traced in Somerset House, London by Mr Edward Nicholls.

[19] William Joseph O'Connor Higgins died in Naples in December, 1852, at the age of 19. (Information supplied by the British Consul-General, Naples). His sister, Mary Jane Josephine O'Connor Higgins registered the death in the Consulate. She was married in April, 1853, in the Consulate at Naples to Baron Rudolph von Haeseler. A search of the Naples newspapers for 1852–53 by Miss Laura Motzo (arranged by the Departmental of External Affairs, Dublin), yielded no additional information.

Acknowledgments

The author is indebted to many correspondents who have helped in compiling material for this biography. He has indicated in the footnotes some of those who assisted but it would be impossible to name all. He would, however, like specially to mention His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, who graciously had enquiries made in his archdiocese in an attempt to trace the grave of William Higgins. Right Rev. Monsignor R. J. Glennon, Chancellor of the archdiocese of Dublin kindly searched for particulars of the marriage of Captain Charles Higgins. The Irish Genealogists, Mr Edward Keane, Mr J. C. T. MacDonagh, Dr E. A. MacLysaght and Dr R. C. Simington, the British Genealogist, Mr Edmond Nicholls, and Herr Curt von Haeseler of Weimar provided much biographical material. The author's thanks are also due to the Librarian of the National Library, Dublin, Dr R. J. Hayes and his Staff, the Registrar (Dr H. H. Poole) and the Librarian (Mr D. J. Clarke) of the Royal Dublin Society, and the Secretary (Dr A. Farrington) and the Library Staff of the Royal Irish Academy. The distinguished historian of chemistry, Professor J. R. Partington provided many references to the work of William Higgins, and taught the author much concerning the state of chemistry in the time of William Higgins. Professor John Read, F.R.S., besides providing references, suggested to the writer that he should undertake a biography of this kind. Dr Michael Tierney, President of University College, Dublin, very kindly made available facilities for the work. Finally, the author wishes to express his gratitude to Mrs J. F. Conan for her interest, and her help in the collection and preparation of the material for this biography. In addition to innumerable letters written in quest of information, she typed many drafts of the Mss.

# Reviews

## A CRITICAL CENTURY FOR EUROPE

*THE EUROPEAN MIND: A STUDY IN CONTRASTS, 1680–1715.* By Paul Hazard. Translated from the French by J. Lewis May. London: Hollis and Carter. 1953. Pp. xx, 454. 35s.

*EUROPEAN THOUGHT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.* By Paul Hazard. Translated by J. Lewis May. London: Hollis and Carter. 1954. Pp. xx, 477. 35s.

The first of these volumes is an English version of *La Crise de la Conscience Européenne,* which appeared as long ago as 1935, the work of M. Paul Hazard of the French Academy. Like many significant French productions, it is written to a definite theme. M. Hazard's contention is that the clash of ideas that came to its culmination in the French Revolution was already present during the period, 1680–1715, with which he deals, and that the positions, conservative and revolutionary, were clearly formulated in those decisive years. It was a period, when the interest of many men shifted from theology to the study of man, from religion to science and reason, from metaphysics to those phenomena that are within a man's immediate grasp. He even maintains that the clash was more violently expressed at the turn of the seventeenth century than it would be later.

> The daring utterances of the *Aufklärung,* of the age of light, pale into insignificance before the aggressive audacities of the *Tractatus theologico-politicus,* the amazing declarations of the *Ethics* (*both by Spinoza*). Neither Voltaire nor Frederick II ever came near the ungovernable anti-clerical, anti-religious frenzy of Toland and his like. Had Locke never been born, d'Alambert would never have penned the *Discours préliminaire* to the Encyclopedia. (p. 446)

With a sense of the dramatic, M. Hazard epitomizes his thesis as follows: "One day, the French people, to a man, were thinking like Bossuet. The day after, they were thinking like Voltaire." (p. xv)

The special fascination of this book, for special fascination it certainly has, resides, I think, in this, that M. Hazard is not content to let his scholarly material slowly unwind itself. He is there all the time in evidence: as the showman before the scene, while the curtain rises upon the various acts; as the conjurer scattering his glistening handfuls of coloured sand upon the platform or producing his rabbits and guinea-pigs. He is now whimsical, now intriguing, now sardonic; and he invites you continually to give your opinion of his statements and his skill. Question after question he blows in your direction like bubbles from a clay pipe, iridescent in their transitoriness. Yet, with all this delicacy that never bewilders though it may on occasion slightly irritate, his work is clear and cogent, learned and most convincing. This is certainly a valuable as well, I repeat, as a fascinating book. Mr. Lewis May gives us an admirable translation which has succeeded in keeping the piquant Gallic qualities of the original.

In a first section, the author studies certain external conditions. In the first place, the influence of seventeenth century travellers and travellers' tales, which were frequently made a vehicle of criticism of the established

order in Church and State. The noble savage would be held up as superior to the jaded and hide-bound European ; the Chinese sage as the type of philosopher who enjoyed a morality free from the sanctions and mysteries of religion. It became fashionable to think *universally* rather than in a European manner, and to be *modern* rather than traditional in social and religious views. History was rejected as founded on legends and old wives' tales.

This revolt against the established order was accentuated at this period by the sudden rise of England as an important literary and scientific centre. The emphasis was transferred across the Channel to London. It was the age of Newton, whose *Principia Mathematica* dated from 1687 and of Locke, whose *Essay concerning Human Understanding* appeared in 1690. Pope, Swift, Arbuthnot, Addison and Steele were the new stars in the English firmament. French Huguenots, exiled by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, were instrumental in translating many English works for use on the Continent. Abel Boyer produced the French version of Addison's *Cato,* and Pierre Coste, those of Locke's *Essay,* Newton's *Optics,* and Shaftesbury's *On the Freedom of Wit and Humour.* These same French Protestants established in 1684, 1686 and 1687, three important French reviews in Holland, in which, through writers as formidable as Pierre Bayle and Jean Le Clerc, they fulminated against the French monarchy and the Catholic Church. This campaign was to have far-reaching consequences, not least because Holland was then the publishers' paradise, having in Amsterdam, Leyden, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht, five of the ten large publishing centres in Europe ; in Amsterdam alone were some four hundred printers and booksellers.

With regard to the philosophers, M. Hazard's earlier limit, namely 1680, is somewhat arbitrary. For, as he admits, the change of emphasis in philosophy belonged to the Renaissance and, in France, particularly to Descartes. It was Descartes who broke the old harmony between Man and Nature, between the mind of man and the objective world and who, in replacing the problem of Reality by that of Knowledge, prepared Europe for its later subjectivism and individualism. Not that Descartes had intended this : but later thinkers were not slow to draw from his principles consequences which he had never entertained. This was equally true of the philosophy of Malebranche, for whom the truest philosophy of all was religion. Yet so insistent had been his desire to reconcile reason with religion that he had left God subject to the world order of His creation, thereby removing any divine liberty of action. All this had been a gradual development, to be reinforced in M. Hazard's chosen period through Spinoza, whose *Tractatus* was a quarry for attack upon Church and State, and from whose pan*theistic* system it would soon be easy to withdraw any *theistic* notion, leaving merely the ideas of reason, universal law and universal necessity. History was further attacked on the grounds that its evidence was not subject to reasonable study : the supernatural impugned obliquely through a campaign against comets, prophecies and miracles : the scriptures themselves by the method of textual exegesis.

What was subtle in this political and anti-religious campaign was its alliance of genuine scientific progress with destructive views. The historical

methods of the time required a thorough revision ; superstition was certainly widespread ; true scriptural scholarship could well do with textual investigation. Yet the science in question was often a mere mask for the attack upon existing institutions.

The new outlook, in M. Hazard's deft analysis, included several elements. First, the empirical approach of Locke, that was to dominate eighteenth century Europe—the refusal to accept anything but ideas that rose from sense experience. Then, Deism, which accepted a Deity, but a Deity remote and circumscribed, that was not permitted in any manner to intervene in human affairs : there was to be no more religious authority or tradition, no priests or pastors of course, and no sacraments or revelation. A *Natural Law* was recognized, which again was not the Catholic *lex naturalis,* the law of God engraved upon the heart of man, His creature, but a rationalization of the way in which men behave in a properly constituted civil society. Ethics became sociology, and the supreme moral principle, enuntiated by Locke, is that of conformity or non-conformity with the general interests of the community. This earthly life, and no longer the life to come, is made the field of human concern.

Some stress should be laid upon the influence of mathematics, and here again Descartes is the *fons et origo.* Indeed, it could be argued that the mania for reducing everything to some clear mathematical pattern was the main cause for this change in the European mentality, and I dare say it could be argued that the major reason for the French Revolution was *geometry.* And the influence of mathematics was remarkably widespread. M. Hazard notes how the geometrical spirit showed itself even in the Utopias of the travellers. In one of these imaginary lands, for instance, each city was divided into sixteen districts ; each district had twenty-five houses ; there were four rooms to every house, and four people to every room. Streets were on a uniform pattern, and the gardens were all rectangular and equal. Tyssot de Patot, author of the *Voyages et Aventures de Jacques Massé* (1710), wrote in his letters : " For so many years now I have been treading the broad, well-lit thoroughfares of geometry, that it pains me to think of the dark and narrow alley-ways of religion." (p. 27)

Nor, finally, can one omit a passage from the *Journal des Savants,* one of the French Protestant reviews published in Holland, in its issue for 4th March, 1686 :

> Ever since the mathematicans managed to penetrate into the innermost of feminine sanctuaries, and with the aid of the *Mercure Galant,* to bring with them the terminology of a science as solid and serious as mathematics, we hear that Cupid's Empire is rapidly crumbling, and that no one talks now of anything but problems, corolloraries, theorems, right-angles, obtuse angles, rhomboids, and so on. It reports that quite recently there were two young ladies in Paris whose heads had been so turned by this branch of learning that one of them declined to listen to a proposal of marriage unless the candidate for her hand undertook to learn how to make telescopes, so often talked of in the *Mercure Galant* while the other young lady positively refused a perfectly eligible suitor simply because he had been unable, within a given time, to produce any new idea about " squaring the circle." (p. 307)

Indeed it is tempting to generalize and to suggest that, first Mathematics and, later, Natural Science fashioned the outlook of these new thinkers.

Descartes, with his Gallic zest for *les idées claires et distinctes* had adopted Mathematics as the model of what Philosophy might one day be, a system of crystal clear notions grasped with complete lucidity. What was not clear or could not be clarified, might be left aside as of little consequence. Clarity meant intelligibility : everything was capable of being known and understood. Superimposed upon this mathematical ideal was a newer notion taken from science, namely that truth must be discovered personally, through observation. Knowledge started with facts ; there must be no innate nor preconceived ideas, and authority had no place in knowledge. Hence, a theory and basis of Positivism, with its twin poles in Nature and Reason.

With the development of this new notion the second volume of M. Paul Hazard studies the long struggle of ideas through the eighteenth century which was to culminate in the French Revolution and in the secularized State. France is again the main stage for this battle of wits but it extends again also to England and even Germany and Italy.

The new thought was, in the first place, an attack. An attack, for example, on the social order through media that ranged from *Gulliver's Travels* to Gay's *Beggar's Opera* and *Il Mattino* of the Italian, Parini : a challenge, at first discreetly veiled, to established political order, in particular to the monarchy, though the new philosophers were often close allies of the monarchs whose system they were assailing ; a more patent challenge to the Church and to revealed religion.

Behind this last attack was a purely naturalist doctrine. Nature, they argued, intended men to be happy, and therefore man's natural desires and instincts ought to find their satisfaction. Christianity had failed in setting up an austere and gloomy code of conduct, which was in evident conflict with both Nature and Reason, that was in the long run the proper interpreter of Nature. Were it not for religion, mankind would be far happier and more contented. Morality, they decided, could exist independently of revealed religion : indeed, the noble savage was just as moral as the Christian and far more balanced for the reason that he lived in accord with Nature. Among the more violent enemies of religion may be noted Pietro Giannone, Jean Meslier and Johann Christian Edelmann, to select a representative from three different countries. In England, there were savage attacks on revelation, from men like Wolston, Tindal and Thomas Chubb, though this *furor* abated after 1740. The French tactics were more subtle, ironical and even more effective, while the Germans proceeded slowly and with a greater apparatus of scholarship.

In France irony often replied to irony, and Jacob Nicolas Moreau, for instance, in his *Histoire des Cacouacs* described these new-found natives (the philosophers of course) as having a weapon peculiar to themselves : it was a pouch of poison concealed beneath the tongue. When ever they spoke, no matter how softly, this poison started to flow, then shot out and spread everywhere. They recognized no authority, declared that everything was relative, and kept on repeating the word " Truth " over and over again. They had a tremendous opinion of themselves and thought they had the world at their feet. They rejected God and enthroned in his place Nature. A title from one

of their books is introduced, to parody the Deist attitude : " Scheme for a universal religion for the benefit of those who do not need one, in which a Deity is admitted, provided he interferes in nothing."

Other defenders of the Christian position refurbished their apologetic arguments : some of them, particularly among English Protestants, began to present them in new and accommodated forms.

More significant than their attack upon established religion was the definite attempt to provide a substitute. They were, for the most part, not atheists, although the boundary line between Deism and Atheism was dangerously thin. The savagery with which Voltaire lampooned Catholicism is not easy to reconcile with his pretended belief in a Supreme and Provident Being. Diderot declared himself an atheist, even while he could admire many aspects of the Catholic Church.

However, just as the Freemasons, after rejecting religious observances, made for themselves a parody of religious ceremonial, so too the new thinkers fashioned a religion of their own. Its core was Natural Morality and, as I have already noted, great stress was laid upon Natural Law, understood in a sense different from that of the traditional *lex naturalis*. It is only fair to state that this concept, misleading enough since it excluded the Creator, led to a growth of tolerance and humanitarian sentiment : the anti-slavery movement, for instance, flourished under its benign influence. But, while it was humanist and humanitarian, it was also Epicurean. For Diderot there existed the conflict between the " natural " and the " moral and artificial " man. Passions are regarded as part of man's nature ; it would be wrong and " un-natural " to suppress them. Passions, to use one of their favourite similes, " swell the sails of the spirit ", although they must not be allowed to capsize the boat. Pleasure has its due place as indeed has self-love. They adopted the facile and optimistic theory that, in the long run, individual and society interests do not clash. It was a kind of ethical *laisser-faire*.

Applied to politics, these notions included that of a primitive contract, by which they considered rulers to be bound. Political equality was painted in glorious colours, even if, on examination, it was evident that this equality did not extend to the working classes and the poor. For these thinkers were essentially bourgeois and their protests in the name of equality were protests against the social and political superiority of the aristocracy. The ideal State they envisaged was a Liberal one, in which the ruler would be an overseer and little besides. England was what many of them had in mind. They were opposed to French autocracy and were the heralds and doctrinaires of its revolution.

This new philosophy was aptly represented in the Encyclopaedia and they are frequently referred to as the Encyclopaedists. M. Hazard points to its real weakness in this comment :

> The true significance of the Encyclopaedia resides in the fact that the eighteenth-century philosophers took possession of a world which, in its essence, was always to remain an enigma to them, and they accepted it on those terms, not troubling their heads about its inward implication. They very wisely confined themselves to collecting facts, and then to putting them into encyclopodaedic order. (p. 199)

They were fascinated, in other words, by those *idées claires et distinctes,* which have been none too happy a legacy to French thinking ; they sacrificed substance for precision.

The unsatisfactory nature of their thought was to be brought home to them subsequently by two men who accepted their presuppositions. Berkeley, an empiricist despite his ecclesiastical status, demonstrated that Locke's denial of substance and secondary qualities must logically lead to the denial of primary qualities and therefore of matter, thus creating confusion for the new thinkers for whom Locke was a prophet even more inspired than Descartes. Hume also accused them of being false to their principles. They were guilty, in his opinion, of the very error for which they rebuked the traditional Christians ; they had fashioned a Supreme Being after their own image and likeness and conceived of the Divine Mind as modelled upon their own. Further, declared Hume, they had taken for granted the connection in Nature of *causes* and *effects*, whereas all that was observable in Nature, according to Hume, was succession. Science was accordingly no longer possible. The confident gospel of Nature plus human reason was to run into the sceptical quicksands of David Hume. And, precisely on account of this sceptical *denouement,* nineteenth-century Philosophy was to seek salvation in the *a priori* thinking of Kant and the idealism of Hegel and his successors, as literature, in revolt against Rationalism, was to discover new pathways in the Romantic movement.

In this second volume, as in the first, M. Hazard shows himself a master of his period. It is a learned, subtle and profound work. The translation has been admirably done, and it cannot have been easy to follow the nuanced development of M. Hazard's thought.

John Murray

## PHILOSOPHY

*DIALECTIQUE DE L'AFFIRMATION :* Essai de métaphysique réflexive. By André Marc, S.J. (Museum Lessianum, section philosophique n° 36). Paris : Desclée de Brouwer. 1952. Pp. 720.

This important work follows logically the two volumes of *Psychologie Réflexive* which Fr Marc published a few years ago. In the *Psychologie Réflexive* starting from the act of objective expression or the act of affirmation by metaphysical reflection to its conditions of possibility, he developed a metaphysic of man. In the *Dialectique de l'Affirmation,* applying the same method to the object of the affirmation as such, he elaborates a metaphysic of being.

Fr Marc's avowed purpose, putting into practice the directives of *Humani Generis,* is to rethink the traditional truths of Scholastic philosophy in the light of the problems and currents of thought of modern philosophy. So he starts from that which is presupposed by all philosophical systems and from

hich they must all be judged : the act itself of affirmation which is the same n all men and which imposing itself on us imposes likewise philosophical eflection. The outstanding contribution then of the *Dialectique de Affirmation* to the development of Neo-scholastic thought lies less in its onclusions than in the method itself by which these conclusions are established nd organized and which gives its title to the book : a dialectic of the ffirmation.

By psychological analysis of the act of affirmation we discover the idea f being as the ultimate condition which renders possible the absolute pposition and position of subject and object. What then must the idea f being be to render this possible? It must be the judgment : " things xist according to their natures, or things are affirmable according to their natures, or essences are proportioned to existence ". Such an idea is the idea f the totality of the real and of all its particulars in general ; such an idea oo contains in general all our judgments. It is the purely intelligible object, nd hence is in act in the act of the intellect according to its pure interiority, n its independence of the senses whether external or internal. Immediately he problem of the method of metaphysics arises. How can the mind face o face in its own interiority with the idea of being, incapable of getting any elp from the senses, how can it progress ? How can it get any other ideas ? f it cannot get other ideas from the idea of being itself, it cannot develop a science of metaphysics. Further, since the idea of being is the idea of the otality of the real and of all its particulars it would seem to leave nothing o be known and hence no room for progress. How then can the mind advance nd where ? But a progress is possible, even necessary, because the idea of eing, containing the unified diversity of the real in confusion and in general or clearly organized, demands clarification and organization. Further the very nature of the content of the idea of being imposes a method of progress nd its direction, the unique method which the mind left to itself has at its disposal : namely the method of opposition, a dialectic or reasoning which is at the same time an analysis and a synthesis. Containing in confusion a diversity unified, the idea of being gives rise to antithetic oppositions which must be resolved according to the principle of unity given in the idea of being. The act of opposing ideas, whether they be contraries or not, gives rise always to a new idea which is a synthetic view of the opposites. Hence the application of the method of opposition to the confused content of the idea of being is its clarification and the development of the science of metaphysics. The ideas engendered by such a dialectic are necessarily connected in strict logical necessity with the starting point and with one another. So that their genesis is their demonstration or their deduction. The mind's reflexive reasoning is set in motion by the apparent antinomies in the idea of being. Being cannot be fundamentally contradictory, because affirming itself, it affirms its coherence. Hence the mind cannot be at rest in the face of seeming antinomies, but its dialectical effort continues, identifying at each step the antinomies which arise, to discover in the way they present themselves the principles of their solution, until the identity of being with itself in its unity and complexity is achieved in the tranquillity of an ordered universe. The

dialectic is the reconstruction in the spirit of the totality of the real according to the laws of the real (given in the idea of being). Hence it is a logical synthesis which is at the same time real : it is an ontology : a logic of the real.

Since the idea of being affirms that things exist according to their natures, the dialectic will render explicit first what it means to exist, and secondly how the natures of the different beings as implied by the notion of being are constituted. The first question will clarify the notions convertible with being as being : the transcendentals ; the second question will clarify the particularizations of being or its divisions : the categories.

The artifice of opposing to the affirmation of being its absolute negation, reveals the necessary identity of being with itself. Being's autoposition is the necessary exclusion of its negation : being as being is necessarily undivided from itself or is necessarily one. Since however the affirmation of being implicitly involves the affirmation of particular beings, it involves the affirmation of the many. The opposition of the one and the many, of being as such and beings, would seem to compromise the identity of being with itself or its unity. But the dependence of the many on the one, and the independence of the one, shows the one to be an exigency of being, the many to be a possibility, relative to the one. From the opposition of being which is judged and the mind judging, it follows that being as such and the spirit as such are correlatives. The identity of being with the spirit by the intellect is the idea of truth. From the conscious presence of reality springs a conscious movement towards reality itself. This act of the will reveals another relation of being to the spirit which is being as good. The synthesis of reality and the spirit is completed in the simultaneous relation of reality to the will and to the intellect in the notion of the beautiful. The identity of being with itself is the notion of being as one ; the identity of being with the intellect is the notion of being as true ; the identity of being with the will is the notion of being as good ; the identity of being with the will and intellect together or with the whole spirit is the notion of being as beautiful. Hence it follows that for the spirit existence is the thinking and willing of being, and for being existence is the being thought of and willed by the spirit.

The descent of the dialectic of being from being in its universality to determine the constitution of the particulars which it implies is rendered possible by the notion of analogy. Since the notion of being is a synthesis of the one and the many, it is a synthesis of the same and the different, or it is analogous. Whence it follows that the notion of any particular being is proportionally that of all being, enabling us to form a notion of what is superior and of what is inferior to the particular being in question. Hence the principles according to which a particular case of the analogy of being, a particular case of a unified diversity, is rendered intelligible in the light of being as such will give us the principles according to which being is divided and permit us to form a hierarchical panorama of reality. This particular case of the analogy of being is movement or becoming. The reality of becoming, judged

in the light of being as such, reveals becoming as a synthesis of act and potency and reveals too the logical and ontological priority of act to potency. A further analysis of the reality of becoming, that act be truly prior to potency, engenders the notions of efficient and of final causality. The reality of becoming would not be identified with itself (and hence would not be) were it not a synthesis of act and potency depending on an efficient and final cause. By act, then, being is one, by potency it is many. The application of act and potency to being as such reveals the multitude of beings as composed of essence and existence, depending on the First Being, Pure Act, as on their efficient and final cause.

Proceeding thence to a more detailed knowledge of the concrete in the light of the real distinction of essence and existence, the movement of thought deduces from the notion of being the special modes of the real, the different ways in which essence is referred to existence. Essence as referred immediately or mediately to existence classifies being in substance and accident.

The notion of substance, an essence which has existence in itself, is deduced from the notion of being as that without which being would not be identified with itself. Being as undivided from itself is fully independent and therefore necessarily subsists in itself or is substance. Hence being is primarily and of necessity the autoposition of subject interior to itself. But substance is not sufficient to fulfil the primary exigency of being, because being as being not only affirms itself by itself (or is substance), it also affirms itself for itself. Outside of being there is nothing ; hence being is necessarily for itself. But being in itself and for itself is precisely the notion of person. The conscious possession of itself by itself and the conscious inclination of itself in itself is that by which being is for itself. Hence being as being is primarily person. And since the notion of being is analogous the notion of person (and substance) will be likewise analogous. And since the notion of being permits a multitude of beings, so too the notion of person will admit a multitude of persons. The notion of person being a primary exigency of being will be verified in all its purity where being is verified in all its purity : in *Ipsum Esse Subsistens.*

The notion of person and particularly the human person, synthesizes the notions already elaborated by the dialectic of the affirmation. The constitution of the human person is completed by a analysis of the progressive character of becoming, which reveals the distinction of substance and accident in the distinction of being and action. The nature of accident is discovered to be analogous between the faculties of tendency, the habits which unify the different operations, and the operations themselves.

Since the analysis of the notion of being showed how each being is a unity according to the principles of act and potency, implying at the same time, since being is analogous, a multitude of substances and persons, the dialectic finally demands how a multitude of substances and persons of which each is a unity in itself, yet taken all together, can form a certain unity which preserves their absolute distinction. It is the notion of relation. Relation unites while it distinguishes : it is the unity of a plurality. With the notion of relation, the dialectic of being terminates in the vision of an ordered universe. The antinomies of being, the contrary oppositions of the

confused notion of being, are resolved in the harmonious opposition of pure relation and the dialectic gives place to contemplation.

This schematic analysis of the dialectic of the affirmation is sufficient to show the power and vigour of Fr Marc's work. The value of such a method should be obvious. In it the natural method of philosophizing becomes selfconscious. How can the discursive nature of our mind applied to the purely intelligible object, being as being, be anything else than the prolongation of the reflexive act always identical with itself, clarifying into notions logically organized and synthesized the identity of being with itself? This is precisely what the dialectic of the affirmation is. Instead of presenting the truths of Scholastic philosophy as a series of ideas which one defines and proves from the definitions given, one assists in the reflexive act at the birth of these ideas from the idea of being in act : their genesis from the starting point being their demonstration and their synthesis with one another. One assists at the genesis and development of a philosophical system. By such a method one enters into the constructive act of the Thomistic system, reinventing for oneself that splendid edifice. One becomes at the same time a philosopher and a Thomist. That is the achievement of Fr Marc's remarkable book and its importance in the development of Neo-scholastic thought.

FRANCIS O'FARRELL

*ÜBER DIE GERECHTIGKEIT. PHILOSOPHIA NEGATIVA. WEISTUM, DICHTUNG, SAKRAMENT*. By Josef Pieper. Munich : Kösel-Verlag. 1953, 1954.

JOSEF PIEPER has been slow to reach Ireland. Enquiries after the English translation of his book on Leisure and Worship still elicit puzzled frowns in the book-shops. And though this book and one or two other small translations have been seen in Dublin, their author's name is still far from familiar. Yet of all the German Catholics now writing, it is surely Pieper and Guardini who have most to say to the non-German public. In Ireland, where Thomism dominates almost unopposed the schools of philosophy, the fresh Thomism of Pieper should have even fewer prejudices to pierce and a more immediate understanding to hope for, than elsewhere.

The status which Pieper would claim for himself is the modest one of interpreter. Ever since, in his twenties, he discovered St Thomas Aquinas for himself, he has set himself to bring the thought of the great scholastic to the notice of the twentieth century. No, he is not adding to the theories about Thomas. He does not treat of Thomism as opposed to Molinism or as opposed to Suaresianism. As the International Thomist Conference of 1925 admitted, the question of the real distinction was of minor interest for Thomas himself. More important than their differences on this point is the ample heritage shared by all his interpreters.

Of this heritage, it is especially the *Secunda Secundae*, St Thomas's work on the virtues and on the human ideal of the Christian, that has drawn Pieper's interest and labours as an interpreter. Twenty years ago, when Hitler was training a generation to reckless self-assertion and brutish fearlessness, Pieper published a booklet *On the Meaning of Courage*, recalling that courage is a cardinal

virtue, but the third of them, subordinate to justice, and impossible without prudence. The lucid, balanced thought and perspicuous style of the book found little echo in a public inebriated with Nietzsche, and it was not until the postwar disillusionment that his fellow-countrymen could spare an ear for an older wisdom. Pieper taught first at Essen and then at the University of Münster, where he still graces the faculty of philosophy, drawing followers less by his unquestionable mastery of Thomas's philosophy than by the insight and wisdom which he brings to all the problems of a contemporary Catholic. In his writings he has completed the series promised by his booklet on Courage. First followed his *Treatise on Prudence*, then a work on temperance, dominated by Aquinas's faith in the goodness of all things that are, and finally, in 1953, a book *On Justice*.

His doctrine is essentially the classical Thomist doctrine. After a definition of Justice, he explains its character *Justitia est ad alterum*, its rank as second of the cardinal virtues, its division into legal, distributive and commutative justice, and finally its limitations : " Commandments of justice are unable to preserve peace and harmony among men, unless love strikes roots among them." The interest of the book lies not in its plan, which is that of many text-books of moral philosophy, but in the distribution of emphasis. Justice is traced to its roots in the rights of other men, which in turn are based on their creation as persons by God. The mutual relations of individuals, however, delay Pieper less than their relations with the state. His chapter on justice in government is the high point of the book, and as a short, clear-headed statement of the rights and the responsibilities of the state could hardly be bettered. It is a conscious exposition of the middle road between liberal individualism, which denies all rights to the social body as such, and totalitarian communism, which denies the rights of individuals. The two extremes agree in abolishing, in theory, the political power. Liberalism would substitute for it a free contract between individuals, Communism the utopian policeless and classless society of Marx's dreams. The Christian ideal sees government not as inevitable evil, but as a necessary good, an institution of greatness and dignity, based in the nature of man.

Apart from his books on the cardinal virtues, Pieper has treated in articles and talks the most various aspects of philosophy, of literature and of Catholic life. Two of his philosophical essays, on the negative element in St Thomas' philosophy and on the modernity of Thomism, appear together in *Philosophia Negativa*. In both, Pieper is concerned to point the difference between metaphysical and scientific (*i.e.*, from inductive sciences) knowledge. " The question as to what knowledge ultimately is, will never be answered in the same definitive way as will, for instance, an enquiry after the bacillus of this or that disease." In the axiom that human knowledge is true but incomplete, it is the latter phrase that Pieper would here develop.

Pieper's latest and largest publication is a collection of essays and articles under three headings. All that is gleaned from traditional wisdom falls into the first part, *Weistum*. Throughout, but especially in the radio talks, the treatment of lofty themes is, inevitably, a little telegraphic, but always stimulating. On Hope—" Camus's question whether life is worthwhile is perhaps a philos-

sophical *question;* but this question cannot be answered philosophically (for hope is a theological virtue, a gift of God). The answer is theological or—there is *no* answer."

The second part of the book, *Dichtung*, introduces essays on creative activity in the widest sense. First of them is the text of a lecture on Aristotle's dictum, "We work in order to have leisure," the theme already of Pieper's book, *Leisure and Worship* (English translation: Faber and Faber.)

In the third part of the book, under *Sakrament*, Pieper has written on the feast of Christmas, on Germany as a mission land, on televising the Mass (a vigorous and convincing protest, this, against profaning the Mystery of Faith by intimate camera glimpses), and on aspects of the sacraments. Here more than anywhere we might wish we had an Irish Pieper, a layman learned in philosophy, who can write of things sacerdotal and sacramental from a layman's point of view, yet without the gaucherie of half-knowledge. The German Pieper is not enough for us. At times he seems a little hard, too rational, as when he objects to saying an 'Our Father' *for* someone. "The Our Father is a prayer of adoration, of worship, of abandonment to God's will, even of petition—but not just in the sense of begging something for someone else." Surely it is not always necessary to anchor our thoughts to the words of our vocal prayers. In saying the Rosary, for instance, we can safely let our mind range over the particular mystery, or even some personal intention. Even here, however, we can recognize the true danger in what Pieper attacks—the reduction of the Lord's Prayer to an "act" to be offered up for an intention.

There remains the difficulty of language. Pieper writes an unpretentious and smooth German. Better still, he eschews that cloudy borderland between meaning and mystery so dear to his countrymen. As a Thomist, he could hardly do otherwise. His thought survives translation well, and his writings will be an acquisition to the Catholic literature of any language willing to welcome them.

Paul Andrews

## TWO NOVELISTS

*ANTONY ALPERS: KATHERINE MANSFIELD, A BIOGRAPHY.* Jonathan Cape, 21s. net.

We are told by the publisher of this book that its author, "a New Zealander himself, felt that he had a special mission to write the life of a New Zealander who became world-famous as a literary artist". Generally, however, Mr Alpers's eye is sufficiently clear to keep him some distance on the safe side of heroine-worship.

Katherine Mansfield's life makes a painful story: there is pain in every chapter, from the early gesture of independence in throwing aside the uncreative security of Wellington to the last desperate trust in the notions of Gurdjieff. The space between is the record of the impact of life (relationships, money, sickness) on an irrational, tortured artist: what she needed, although she realized it only in her last days, was poise, the way between extremes. She

reminds one vividly of Scott Fitzgerald with his pathetic appetite for Experience '.

The story is well told by Mr Alpers. In particular, we are in his debt for throwing new light on several parts which have been aggravatingly dim, such as Katherine Mansfield's first marriage and the fantastic loyalty of L.M. Miss Ida Baker). Indeed, as pure biography the book is even better (because fuller) than the fine account by Sylvia Berkman (Yale, 1951). Nevertheless, a few reservations must be made.

Mr. Alpers has pursued Miss Mansfield's activities with an unrelenting visual energy, but his book makes little attempt to relate these activities to any wider intellectual or social context. The story passes between Miss Mansfield, L.M., and John Middleton Murry : a few others such as the D. H. Lawrences, Orage and Beatrice Hastings are drawn into the triangle : but there is no feeling for the times through which Miss Mansfield lived, the places, the air she breathed. Indeed, his characters give a peculiar feeling of being unrelated to the facts of time and place, of being out on a limb.

The second reservation concerns the nature of biography itself. Mr Alpers would have been justified in piecing his story together and telling it with a minimum of interpretation or commentary. In general, he has done this, pointing to the facts, commenting only when he regards the facts as being seriously less than self-explanatory. But there is a difficulty : how much is one to put in or leave out ? A fair instance is the final scene at the Gurdjieff Institute at Fontainebleau : Mr. Alpers presents it accurately, the Master's ideas, the place itself, Miss Mansfield's treatment, her death, but he ignores the personal implications, he writes as if her decision to enter the Institute needed no deep explanation. Yet when we turn to the statements of Miss Mansfield's husband, Mr. Murry (not quoted in this book) we find this :

> It is not for me to pass judgment on the Gurdjieff Institute. I cannot tell whether Katherine's life was shortened by her entry into it. But I am persuaded of this ; that Katherine made of it an instrument for that process of self-annihilation which is necessary to the spiritual rebirth, whereby we enter the Kingdom of Love. I am certain that she achieved her purpose, and that the Institute lent itself to it. More I dare not, and less I must not, say.[1]

Surely the duty of weighing the evidence, of commenting, is here the biographer's.

There are a number of critical observations in Mr Alpers's book, but again they are given in a kind of intellectual vacuum, almost as if she were the only writer in the world. It seems to me that Mr Alpers has not sufficiently clarified for himself the precise limits of biography : his occasional departures from the role of story-teller to that of literary critic or apologist are based on no recognizable theory or system. Obviously, to describe ' The Fly ' as " that little masterpiece " (p. 327) is no help whatever.

Re-reading the stories of Katherine Mansfield is an interesting experience. The awareness, the intensity is still there, even if many of her settings have by

[1] *Katherine Mansfield's Letters to John Middleton Murry*, 1913-1922 (Constable, 1951).

now been overlaid with a certain period charm (' Miss Brill ', for instance) There is still a definite validity in her characteristic presentation of an inne world (dream, illusion, ecstasy) shattered by a cruel, unassailable externa reality (awakening, infidelity, the snail under the leaf). It is part of her mis fortune that this vision (her own, even if some of the light is Chekhov's) ha now been twisted into all sorts of hideous cliches by lesser writers : the sam people have also taken over her themes of Death and Loneliness.

At the same time, Miss Mansfield's powers can easily be exaggerated especially by those who are blinded by sympathy for the tragic heroine. T compare her with Virginia Woolf, for example, is a gross critical blunder for she bears approximately the same relation to Virginia Woolf as J. B Priestley bears to Fielding, or Elizabeth Bowen to Jane Austen. Her work even at its best, is of the surface, it does not penetrate. Those who regard he as a great writer would do well to consider the critical (if harsh) justice o Virginia Woolf's denunciation of ' Bliss ' :

> I shall have to accept the fact, I'm afraid, that her mind is a very thin soil, laid an inch or two deep upon very barren rock. For ' Bliss ' is long enough to give her a chance of going deeper. Instead, she is content with superficial smartness . . .[2]

Mr Alpers's book, intelligent and well-written, will help towards the appreciation of a genuine, if minor, talent.

DENIS DONOGHUE

*THE TANGLED FIRE OF WILLIAM FAULKNER.* By William Van O'Connor. Minnesota University Press. London. Geoffrey Cumberlege. 1954. 32s.

William Faulkner is a great writer. Only a great writer could have written any of the following stories, " The Sound and the Fury ", " Light in August ", " As I lay dying ", " Absalom, Absalom ", " The Wild Palms ", " The Hamlet ", and " The Bear " : Faulkner wrote them all. Recognition of his genius has come tardily, even in America : in Ireland, it is unlikely that more than a few dozen people know his work or have ever put a foot in his mythical Yoknapatawpha country. In one Dublin bookshop, to my knowledge, " Requiem for a Nun " has been gathering dust for many months : the Dublin public libraries seem blithely unaware of his existence.

Faulkner has, of course, received a large amount of critical consideration from writers such as Robert Penn Warren, Malcolm Cowley, George Marion O'Donnell, Trilling, and Maxwell Geismar : Irving Howe's study, published in 1952, is characteristic of the most intelligent responses to the novels. William Van O'Connor's new book, however, is well worth its place and deserves a special welcome in that it reveals with point and fairness the limitations of the " Southern myth " idea of Faulkner. This slant seems to derive from O'Donnell via Cowley and Warren : briefly, it sees Faulkner as glorifying a Past that was lived in heroically by the planter-aristocrats of the South : this great Past is corrupted by the new selfish descendants of the landless whites. Within

[2] *Virginia Woolf : A Writer's Diary,* edited by Leonard Woolf (1953).

the context of the novels, this may be equated with the moral conflict between the Sartorises and the Snopeses. But it is not by any means as straightforward as that, and Professor Van O'Connor emphasizes that this glorious Past to which Faulkner looks was itself filled with deviation, dislocation and violence, evils which cannot be attributed to mere aristocratic incompetence. Indeed, the great merit of this study is that it forces Faulkner's texts into no artificial mould : it avoids those confident generalizations which are superficially so impressive and basically so crude.

This is primarily a critical study : that is, it is an analysis and an interpretation of the texts, based on careful reading, thought, and good taste. As such, it properly relegates to the footnotes those details of gossip and biography which, though interesting, have no real part in the interpretation. I need hardly say that even the gossip is retailed with a degree of tact noticeably lacking in Robert Couglan's recent articles on Faulkner (*Life* magazine, 28 September and 5 October 1953). The study must therefore be judged solely on the merits of its interpretations.

Here a crude test may be useful : a good study is one which reveals in a text meaningful details or wider significances likely to be missed even by an intelligent reader. Professor Van O'Connor's book passes this test admirably, with only a few minor reservations. The reservations first : I can see or feel no particular relationship between Faulkner's early poem " The Lilacs " and Eliot's " The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock ". " Soldier's Pay " and " Sartoris " receive, I think, inadequate treatment : their " lost generation " implications are far more subtle than Professor Van O'Connor suggests. The author throws a fine, strong light on the novels by examining the patterns of imagery which they reveal, e.g., the image of the honeysuckle in " Sanctuary " and of the river in " The Sound and the Fury ". In some cases, however, the focus of the examination could have been more concentrated : a good example turns up in Professor Van O'Connor's account of a significant point in " As I lay dying " :

> (Vardaman's) weakness of mind and the shock of her death somehow cause him to associate a bloody, chopped up fish with his mother. Like an eerie refrain through the story, he says, ' My mother is a fish'. Vardaman is a victim of Anse's ineffectuality and of Addie's terrible commitments. (p. 50).

This is all right as far as it goes, but Melvin Backman in his study " Sickness and Primitivism : a dominant pattern in Faulkner's works " (*Accent*, Winter 1953, page 66) goes further and cuts deeper :

> Addie in the coffin seems a life-in-death symbol, like one of Frazer's drowned gods. She is associated by Vardaman with the fish he caught the day she died, and the fish symbolism (the fish is a life symbol of immemorial antiquity) suggests that she is fundamentally still alive for her family. Vardaman, Dewey Dell, and even Darl constantly refer to her as though she were still living.

Professor Van O'Connor is good on " The Sound and the Fury ", though t is still necessary to read the study of that novel by Cleanth Brooks in English Institute Essays 1952 (Columbia University Press). The interpretation of " Light n August " as a study of " the terrible excesses of the Calvinist spirit " (p. 72)

is new and subtle : the same adjectives apply to the examination of the Wilderness theme in " The Bear ", though in some respects I find the alternative reading by W. R. Moses (*Accent,* Winter 1953) more suggestive.

To sum up : this is not the definitive book on Faulkner, but it is finely imaginative and eminently just. For these qualities, it is warmly recommended.

Denis Donoghue

## BIOGRAPHY

*ST THOMAS MORE.* By E. E. Reynolds. Burns Oates. 1953. 25s.

In one of his Prefaces Thomas More refers to " the fictions of those who think they have done a lasting service to Christ when they have invented a fable about some saint . . . an act of piety, no doubt, considering the risk that Truth would be insufficient unless propped up with lies ! " Mr Reynolds has risked the unadulterated Truth, and the result is a fine critical biography, amply documented, well-balanced and very readable. His book bears its weight of scholarhip with ease, the writing is clear and straightforward, and the representative quotations from More's works are judiciously chosen. (Mr Reynolds is to be thanked for his wise decision to modernize the spelling ; scant punctuation and a paucity of main verbs already provide a sufficient hold-up in the understanding of Tudor writings !)

As the story unfolds we get a very clear picture of this most attractive saint. Scholar, lawyer, statesman, renowned for his wit, devoted to his family, Sir Thomas More might well have merited a page or two in a history book as an upright and learned Chancellor, had he not been, as it were, forced into sainthood by the circumstances of his time. True, many a martyr had to make the same choice as he—between his conscience and his King—but in More's case there is a strange sense of incongruity. He was such a good-humoured, level-headed, we might say normal sort of person, that we feel he was one of ourselves—a man of the world, in the best sense of the term. Consequently, there is a feeling of almost personal dismay at the predicament in which he finds himself. This is apparent even in the works of non-Catholics, who give the impression of being rather bewildered at the whole business. Mr Reynolds keeps the issue clear. When it was suggested to the King that More and Fisher might be allowed to take the simple oath to the succession but not to the Supremacy, Henry insisted that they take the whole oath, otherwise : " it might be taken not only as a confirmation of the Bishop of Rome's authority, but also as a reprobation of the King's second marriage." And Mr Reynolds rightly comments : " In that sentence lies the explanation of the refusal of Bishop John Fisher and of Sir Thomas More to take the oath."

This is a highly satisfying book, and its value is increased by the many excellent illustrations, especially the fine reproduction of Holbein's portrait on the Frontispiece.

Liam Egan

*EDWARD LEEN, C.S.Sp.* By Michael O'Carroll, C.S.Sp. Dublin : Laetare Press. 15s.

Good biographies are rare, as is evidenced by the number claiming to portray great men, whilst each of them changes the focus for the camera. Either

omething of the man's personality is lost in the work, or the significance of he work itself is overshadowed by the personality. Thus the older, stereotyped ife of a Saint presented him as clad with the miraculous mantle, for which his shoulders should be fashioned. The real man was over-tailored.

Fr O'Carroll is eminently successful in avoiding this pitfall. Father Leen was a great Priest. In the 28 years, from his ordination in 1916 to his death in 1944, he accomplished work in the field of retreats, sermons, lectures, education, spiritual direction, writing, any one of which might mark a priest as an earnest and efficient labourer in the Master's vineyard. How did he accomplish it? The answer may be found in the impression produced on him by the Catacombs. In his last lecture, just five days before his death, he said :

> One gets the impression of a world of mind and soul and even of body, a world to which Christianity was a vital, living, present experience, a world of intense reality . . . one had a living, vital, vivid, almost tangible experience of Christ Himself. And Christ, not as something narrowed but as filling the whole universe—heaven and earth ; Christ as *pervading* all life.

Fr O'Carroll adds : " This passage unquestionably contains conviction deepened through life ".

To us the interesting point is to know why that conviction deepened in the life of Edward Leen into an inspiration, whilst so many others, even priests, retain little except the tourist's souvenir of the Catacombs. A biography, true to life, should tell us. Fr O'Carroll's merit is that he does so.

He was the type of boy, from whom, under favourable influence, one might expect great things : "Impulsive, a generous comrade and ambitious, ready for an occasional escapade on the margin of college regulations . . . with an independence of spirit and a rugged nature drawing strength from games ", (p. 11).

Providence arranged the influence. Fr. Shanahan, after a lengthy formation in France, was made Dean of Discipline in Rockwell College. Two kindred spirits met, and the effect on young Leen's " soul of this encounter with this remarkable man was lifelong." In the very year of his death, Fr. Leen sent one of his many contributions to *Studies*, recalling Dr Shanahan's idealism, with wistful regret that it met with poor response in the hearts of the students.

Fortunately there was a notable exception in Edward himself. Like Dr Shanahan, he had the good fortune to go abroad for his studies, and " Intercourse and association with French Catholics, conscious and proud heirs of a great spiritual past, provoked and stimulated a response from the soul of the young Irishman ", (p. 19). Rome completed the work ; and, when persevering effort had rid him of " the inferiority complex of the Gael, momentarily possessed ", he was ready, in the spirit of St Paul, to tarry wherever the Master's voice called : " *For a great door and evident is opened unto me : and many adversaries.*" (I Cor. 16.9.)

The first " great door " was Nigeria. Dr Shanahan's adventure appeared to the " wise and prudent " a foolhardy attempt. Just what would appeal to Fr. Leen. His stay was short, but with a decisive result on his character. There, as he said, he learnt that " the best way to hold what one has is to dispense

freely ". In his early days he was considered intolerant. A strong man, wit the highest ideals, must suffer from the " let-well-alone " attitude, commo enough in Ireland, perhaps due to the years of alien occupation. To the en of his life, in retreats, and public instructions, Fr. Leen retained not a little o John the Baptist's fire. But with the individual he had learnt to act as Chris acted, " not to break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax ". Hi role as spiritual director shows this.

In more than one field, he broke new ground, always to " find the ad versaries ", in timid or unfavourable critics. Even his first book, since a spiritual classic, " Progress through Mental Prayer " was refused in Ireland But in all his work, notably in his triumph in Killeshrandra, he never aban doned the ideal. His work as an educationalist convinced him that " we were horribly mediocre and *terre à terre* " (p. 262), and many of his ideas in *What i Education,* found opponents. But to the end, he kept on bravely shaping his work to the ideals of the Kingdom, and not reading ideals in the light of his own whims and fads.

We are grateful to Fr. O'Carroll for the twelve smoothly written chapters, in which he sets before us this Irishman, of whom the country may well be proud.

George Byrne

*THE PORT OF TEARS.* The Life of Fr John Sullivan, S.J. By M. Bodkin, S.J. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds, Ltd. 1953. 9s. 6d.

This cannot have been an easy book to write. There was nothing at all spectacular about Fr Sullivan's life. In the years preceding his conversion, at Portora, at Trinity, on circuit or in his chambers, his work won him distinction in academic and legal circles but, of its nature, caused little stir in the outside world. As a Jesuit novice and student he followed a path that has been trodden by thousands of young religious. To say that he was a teacher, a spiritual director, a Superior, is to evoke no comment beyond, possibly, a mild *Quid inde ?* True, his reputation as a man of unusual holiness was growing steadily throughout his thirty-three years in the Society of Jesus, but it was only in the later part of his life that he came to be regarded as a thaumaturgist.

It must, then, have been difficult to write Fr John's biography, but Fr Bodkin has done his work well. Few who knew Fr Sullivan will dream of laying down this book unfinished ; those who are making his acquaintance for the first time will be carried forward by the author's readable prose to a proper appreciation of the holy man, whom so many admire and for whom so many had a real affection.

One sometimes feels, when reading biographies of saintly men or women, that the author has allowed no small amount of wool to gather before his eyes. The story he tells is too one-sided to be altogether credible ; the holy people seem slightly super-human in their goodness. Fr Bodkin has been honest with us—relentlessly honest, some may think : for all his holiness, for all his classical learning, Fr Sullivan was a poor teacher ; as Superior he was not a success ; he lacked that quality which we call charm ; too often his conversation centred around death and kindred gloomy topics, and so on. Each

deficiency is noted. Some are underlined, but not unkindly, never without understanding. By way of matching Fr Bodkin's honesty, may I say that I felt, at first, that he had overdone this side of his work. I no longer think so. Re-reading the book convinced me that the complete picture enhances rather than detracts from Fr Sullivan's appeal. He was no less holy for being human. The gifts he lacked were more than balanced by those he possessed. His utter indifference to worldly things, his great-hearted charity to all in trouble—these were the key themes in the symphony of his sanctity—will be remembered when his failures in administrative and other spheres have long been forgotten.

DESMOND REID

*LIFE AND WORK OF MOTHER M. ST. IGNATIUS.* By A Religious of Jesus and Mary. Dublin : Clonmore & Reynolds. 1953. Pp. 346. 16s.

THE Church in France, at the fall of Napoleon, was a church in ruins. In the fourteen years between 1801 and 1815 the number of ordinations to the priesthood hardly equalled the number in a single year before the Revolution. Thirteen thousand parishes were left without a pastor. In the secular schools many of the teachers were atheists and many more, perhaps the majority, indifferent to the Church and to all religion.

In the effort to repair these terrible ravages the people of Lyons played a conspicuous part. Among the deacons ordained in the city in 1815 was a John Baptist Vianney, soon to be famous as the Curé of Ars. To the same heroic class of souls belonged Mlle. Claudine Thévenet. Born at Lyons in 1774, she was thus a young girl of fifteen when the tornado of the French Revolution broke over her city and country. Before a year had passed, the ancient Benedictine Abbey of the Dames de Saint Pierre, where she was receiving her education, was suppressed by the Constituent Assembly. During the long years of revolution she had gone her modest way, giving to the poor and ignorant every hour that could be spared from the duties of her home. Her purse, too, was ever at the service of charity. But God wanted still more of her, as an apparent accident was one day to reveal. On a bleak December evening, the priest of a nearby church found two shivering little mites crouching on the ground, too miserable to weep, in the stone porch of the building. They had been abandoned by their parents. What was he to do ? Where could he find them shelter ? He thought of Mlle. Thévenet, whom he did not then know personally, but whose name was familiar to him because of the honour in which it was held by the poverty-stricken. His confidence in her was not misplaced. She took the children in with loving care and began at once to plan ways and means for their maintenance. Soon other orphans came to join the two. Mlle. Thévenet approached lady friends of her circle and induced them to lend a hand in the good work.

On the feast of St. Ignatius, 31st July, 1816, eight of these, with Mlle. Thévenet at their head, formed themselves into an association. Their external activities were classified under four titles, instruction, edification, consolation and almsgiving. When their success became known, other ladies of the city came to ask for the privilege of membership. One of the first ten to be accepted

was Pauline-Marie Jaricot, later to be celebrated as the foundress of the "Work for the Propagation of the Faith." This was her introduction to what now would be called Catholic Action. The Association prospered. In 1818, after a momentous discussion, it was decided that those among the ladies who had the requisite qualities should separate from the rest and become a religious congregation. This was duly done. Mlle. Thévenet, now an experienced woman of 44, was the inevitable superior. She said goodbye then to home and family and with her miniature community took possession of a small rented house wherein an ever growing number of orphans could be cared for and trained. In 1820 a larger building was secured on the hill of Fourvière, overlooking the city. The orphans remained the community's primary anxiety, but the motto of the Congregation "To win souls for heaven by a Catholic education" was given wider scope by the foundation, on the hill, of a boarding school for girls. About this time the ecclesiastical authorities allowed Mlle. Thévenet and her companions to adopt a religious habit and take names suited to their new state. The superior chose St. Ignatius as her patron. After three years, they were permitted to make full religious profession. Elections were then held and Mother St. Ignatius became Mother-General of the Congregation. Patient, tender, sympathetic, magnanimous, she was the very type of the ideal superior.

Crosses came in abundance, so the Congregation grew in numbers and spiritual strength. For nearly nineteen years Mother St. Ignatius governed it with wisdom and sweetness. She died, in February 1837, a death precious in the sight of God. Ten years later the Congregation which she had founded, called fittingly The Congregation of Jesus and Mary, was given definite approval by the Holy See. Her daughters could then walk with unwavering confidence in the way of perfection that she had marked out for them. The cause of her beatification was introduced by the Cardinal-Archbishop of Lyons in 1926. This first step in the process which, it is hoped, will lead ultimately to canonization, was brought to a happy conclusion in 1928. The remaining stages, as is well known, belong to the Sacred Congregation of Rites in Rome.

The present fine volume is interestingly written, liberally illustrated and finely produced. It adds to a fascinating life of the Foundress an account of the activities of the Congregation everywhere since her death. If there was one lesson more than another which Mother St. Ignatius emphasized in instructing her daughters it was the value for those who would imitate Christ of humility and obscurity, *nesciri et pro nihilo reputari*. They should not seek to win prominence for themselves or their work by worldly progaganda. At the same time they should not forget that their *raison d'être* was labour for God and were therefore to be prepared to answer every call to apostolic enterprise. True to this teaching, they have never put themselves forward, yet never refused an appeal to further the honour of God and the salvation of souls. Quietly then, almost imperceptibly, the circle of their beneficent influence widened. When the summons came to undertake missions in pagan India in 1842, they answered it joyfully. In that torrid and relatively barren field they have not faltered as the eleven flourishing houses which they possess

there to-day bear witness. They made foundations, too, in Spain, Germany, Switzerland, England, Italy, and beyond the Atlantic in Canada, the United States, Mexico, Cuba and the Argentine. Ireland also has benefitted by their zeal and virtue, for in 1912 they came to Crossmolina, to establish in due course, on a lovely site beside Loch Conn, a first-class secondary school and noviceship. In recent years they have sent a colony to Enniscrone, Co. Sligo. In Galway, they not only teach but conduct, at Shantalla, a residential hall for nuns and lay students attending lectures in University College. The seedling sown so trustfully by Mother St. Ignatius has grown into a spreading vine which now encircles the world ; we in Ireland are fortunate in possessing three of its eighty fruitful branches.

JOHN RYAN

*A CANDLE WAS LIT.* By Margery Bayley Butler. Dublin : Clonmore and Reynolds. 1953. 16s.

SINCE the day when St Vincent de Paul made his great foundation, and revolutionized the religious life for women, some of the most interesting and at times astonishing figures in the history of the Catholic Church are to be seen in the procession of heroic, capable women who have founded religious orders to satisfy every need and to deal with every emergency. To read their biographies is not merely to study sanctity, but also to enjoy tales of real adventure.

Such a one was Mother Mary Aikenhead, the foundress of the Irish Sisters of Charity, and in this book the author, who is herself a member of the Congregation, gives an account of her life in a simple but highly readable fashion. And what a tale it is; it is only necessary to look at the list of convents, schools and institutions under the care of the Congregation, which is given at the end, to realize what a candle was lit, spreading from Ireland to England and Scotland, to Africa and America, but particularly to Australia. The sick and the dying, children and the poor, working girls and expectant mothers, and also unfortunate women who have wandered from the narrow path, all these have been and are cared for by the Irish Sisters of Charity. For the latter Mother Aikenhead had a special gentleness : it is touching that when she was dying, she remembered that the next day would be that of St Mary Magdalen, a special feast for her penitents ; " If I die tomorrow," she had just enough strength left to say, " if I die tomorrow do not tell the poor penitents until the day after, as it would spoil their pleasure." These were her last recorded words, and few last words can have been so characteristic.

This book is pleasantly illustrated with a considerable number of photographs shewing the various activities of the Congregation, ranging from the woollen mills at Foxford to the Hospice for the Dying, and there is a particularly charming little picture of coloured children at Mass.

On 15 March 1921, the Decree for the introduction of the Cause of Mother Mary Aikenhead's Beatification was signed by Pope Benedict XV. As Father John Ryan, S.J., says in his introduction to this, her latest biography :— " What joy there will be in Ireland and beyond, if one day this great Lover of the Poor is raised to the honours of the altar."

*GOD, OUR FATHER.* By Hugh Kelly, S.J. Dublin : Gill and Son. 1954. 6s.

*THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.* By Dom Benedict Steuart, O.S.B. London : Longmans. 1953. 30s.

It is St Augustine's opinion that " God wisheth us to be so suckled with milk that we abide not therein : but by growing through milk that we arrive at solid food ". It is only fair to the intending reader to warn him that Fr. Kelly's book is solid food and very tightly packed at that. But he should not be put off. A careful and, if possible, meditative reading will provide him with a highly useful synthesis of Catholic Faith. Such a synthesis can be made from different angles ; Fr. Kelly's is from that of the fatherhood of God. He sees the Redemption as the restoring to us of the right, in virtue of a sharing of divine life, to say " Our Father " ; and he develops clearly what is meant by our divine adoption and the relationship it brings about with the different persons of the Blessed Trinity and with Our Lady. He shows that the first of all devotions should be a devotion to God, expressed in Spirit-governed prayer and in an ever growing filial love of His will ; and that the Religion of the Son subsumes the religion of the sons and sweeps it upward in the great cosmic return to the Father. It is, in short, the way of spiritual childhood ; and fittingly this pilgrim from Loyola takes the road that passes through Lisieux.

The reader who finds Fr. Kelly's treatment of the Mass—the " sign " of the Son's great Return to the Father—disappointingly short can call Dom Steuart to his aid. The Farnborough Benedictine's study has much to do with sacrifice, and though it is formally historical it will also be found a solid aid to devotion. It more than adequately fulfils the promise of its sub-title : *An Outline of Liturgical History.* The author humbly puts it forward as a work of popularization ; and he is obviously at home in the writings of the leaders of continental liturgical thought, though it is unfortunate that he was unable to make use of Fr Jungmann's great *Missarum Sollemnia.* But it is also obviously the work of a monk who has loved the " work of God " ; hence its personal feeling and at times quite original accent. His account of the Liturgical Year follows, on the whole, safe traditional principles ; but one is rather sorry that the ideas of Chapter one of Part two are not more fully developed and that his regard for the Maria Laach school stops short of imitation. The more the Christ of the Church Year can be made " contemporaneous ", the more vivid and vital becomes our spiritual life.

Donal O'Sullivan

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We gladly welcome the first number of *University Review* (published by the Graduates' Association of N.U.I.) and wish it every success. We hope to publish a notice of the first two issues in our next number.

Ed.

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